

THE ANCIENT WORLD


Part Two

Rome and the West

W.M.WEST

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THE
ANCIENT WORLD

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 800 A.D.

PART II
ROME AND THE WEST

BY
WILLIS MASON WEST

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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PREFACE.

My *Ancient History* has met with a welcome generous beyond all expectation. In many schools, however, there seems to be a demand for a work somewhat easier, and for such schools the present book is written. In it the characteristic features of the *Ancient History* are retained. The order and plan of the two books are alike, and at first glance this volume may seem to vary but little from its predecessor. A careful comparison, however, will show changes of four distinct kinds :

(1) Many generalizations of a philosophical nature have been omitted.

(2) More narrative and more biography have been introduced.

(3) Abstruse ideas have been retained only when essential to historical study, and then they have been explained.

(4) Diction and sentence structure have been simplified.

Besides many radical modifications, it will be found that few sentences of the *Ancient History* appear here without at least a slight alteration. Paragraphs, too, have been shortened ; terms like "civilization," "state," "empire," are discussed in footnotes ; references to maps are more frequent and specific ; more maps and illustrations have been added ; and the suggestions for students' reading have been simplified by the omission of rare and difficult works.

With all this simplification I have tried to avoid "writing down" to a childish level. Whenever a word somewhat unfamiliar to young readers has seemed indispensable for accuracy or highly desirable for force or color, I have not hesitated to use it. A book of this kind would be poor indeed if it did not do something to enrich the student's vocabulary.

The present book is designed for a year's work by first-year high-school classes. In writing it I have tried to bring out the underlying unity in historical development, and to help the student to see the value of the Past in explaining the Present. The romantic but legendary periods of Greek and Roman life are subordinated to the later periods, so much richer in historical meaning; and especially is an effort made to arouse interest in the wide-spreading Greek world after the time of Alexander, and in the Roman imperial world upon which all later European life is so directly based.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
MINNEAPOLIS, June, 1904.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	XXV
MAPS AND PLANS	XXVI

PART IV.—ROME.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

I. THE PLACE OF ROME IN HISTORY.

SECTION

252. Summary of previous history: Oriental contributions material; Greek contributions intellectual	253
253. Rome the representative of government and law	254
254. The Roman and the Greek: work and character	255

II. THE LAND.

255. Limits	255
256. Geographical and political unity	256
257. Geography and the direction of the first outside effort	256
258. Geographical position and external dominion	256

III. PEOPLES OF ITALY.

259. A land of mingled races	257
260. Leading peoples: Italians, Greeks, Gauls, Etruscans	257
261. "Fragments of forgotten peoples" (Ligurians, etc.)	260

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES OF ROME.

262. Roman geography important	260
263. Central position in Italy	261
264. A commercial site	261
265. Rome a "mark state"	261
266. "The Seven Hills": federation	261

V. LEGENDARY CHARACTER OF EARLY HISTORY.

267. Old writers and their sources	262
268. Abstract of early legends	263
269. Attitude of scholars toward them to-day	263

CHAPTER II.—PROBABLE CONCLUSIONS AS TO REGAL
ROME.

I. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.

SECTION	PAGE
270. Latium and Rome	265
271. Unification of the "Seven Hills"	265
272. Growth beyond the walls	268

II. CLASSES — CITIZENS AND NON-CITIZENS.

273. Patricians and their clients	269
274. Plebeians	270

III. PATRICIAN ORGANIZATION.

275. The family: <i>patria potestas</i>	270
276. Gentes and curias	271
277. Exclusion of the plebeians from the patrician organization	271

IV. RELIGION.

278. Ancestor and nature worship; Greek influence	272
279. Character: abstract and formal	272
280. Priesthoods: augurs, pontiffs, vestals	272
281. A political instrument: prevalence of legal fiction	273

V. EARLY POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

282. The King (rex)	274
283. Patrician Assembly (Comitia Curiata)	275
284. Senate	275

VI. TWO PREHISTORIC REVOLUTIONS.

A. A Centuriate Assembly (containing Plebeians also)
replaces the Curiate (Patrician) Assembly.

285. The plebeians begin to make their way into a political Assembly	276
286. The "census of Servius": the army of centuries	276
287. The Assembly of Centuries	277
288. Aristocratic character of the Centuriate Assembly	277
289. The real gain of the plebs	278

B. The King for Life replaced by Two Annual Consuls.

SECTION	PAGE
290. The early kingship followed by a "tyranny"	278
291. Roman legend of the expulsion of the tyrants	278
292. The real expulsion a gradual patrician movement	279

VII. THE CONSULSHIP A MODIFICATION OF THE KINGSHIP.

293. The consuls as "kings for one year"	280
294. The chief limitations: the mutual veto and brief term	280
295. Later checks: the independence of officials and the Valerian appeal	280
296. Roman political moderation the real check	281
297. The dictatorship: a temporary revival of the old kingship to meet a crisis	281
298. The senate and the consuls	282
299. VIII. SUMMARY: THE DEBT TO REGAL ROME	282

CHAPTER III. — CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE REPUBLIC,
510-367 B.C.

300. The expulsion of the kings followed by class conflicts	284
---	-----

I. POSITION OF THE CLASSES AFTER 510 B.C.

301. Rome just after 510 B.C. a patrician oligarchy	284
302. Plebeian loss politically	285
303. Plebeian loss in standing at law	285
304. Plebeian loss economically: patrician monopoly of public land; increase of plebeian taxation; plebeian losses in war.	285
305. Dissatisfaction of rich plebeians with the lack of social and political privilege	287
306. Summary: objects of the plebeian struggle	287

II. STEPS IN THE PROGRESS.

A. Tribunes of the Plebs.

307. The first secession of the plebs	287
308. The tribunes and their veto on single executive acts	288
309. Subsequent growth of the tribuneship: veto on state action; judicial power	288

B. Rise of the Plebeian Assembly.

SECTION	PAGE
310. Ancient plebeian organization by tribes	289
311. This Plebeian Assembly wins recognition (for plebeian concerns) in the state	290
312. The result a double state ; violence over agrarian questions	290

C. The Decemvirs.

313. The plebs demand written laws	291
314. The two boards of decemvirs	291
315. The Twelve Tables	292
316. The patrician attempt at a counter-revolution (Appius Claudius)	292
317. Another plebeian secession and new gains : Comitia Tributa	292
318. The reorganized Comitia Tributa	293

D. Social Fusion.

319. Mixed marriages	293
--------------------------------	-----

E. Admission to the Consulate.

320. Consular tribunes and censors	294
321. Patrician maneuvers	294
322. The Licinian Rogations	295
323. The struggle and the final victory of the plebs	295
324. Political fusion completed, 367-300 B.C.	296
325. A catch-word review of the Struggle of Classes	297

CHAPTER IV. — UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 367-266 B.C.

I. PROGRESS BEFORE 367 B.C.

326. Gains under the kings, and the reaction to 449 B.C.	298
327. The period 449-367 : slow gains ; a brief interruption — the Gauls sack Rome, 390 B.C.	298

II. THE REAL ADVANCE, 367-266 B.C.

328. United Rome and her rapid growth	299
329. Latium and southern Etruria	300
330. The winning of Campania	300
331. The last Latin Revolt, 338 B.C.	300
332. The last struggle for supremacy in central Italy : the Samnite wars	300
333. Magna Graecia : the war with Pyrrhus	302

CHAPTER V.—UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE.

I. CLASSES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES.

A. The Roman State.

SECTION	PAGE
334. Extent	304
335. Rights and obligations of citizens	304
336. Classes of citizens, including members of Roman colonies and of municipia	305
337. Organization in "tribes"	306

B. Subjects.

338. The three classes of subjects	306
339. Latin colonies	306
340. Praefectures	308
341. Allies	309

C. General Result—A Confederacy under a Queen-city.

342. Advantages and disadvantages of subjects	309
343. Power and policy of Rome	310
344. Roman roads: bonds of union	311

II. THE PERFECTED CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC.

A. Growth of a New Aristocracy.

345. The "nobles"	312
-----------------------------	-----

B. Political Machinery and its Working.

346. The three popular assemblies: apparent growth toward de- mocracy	312
347. The administrative officers	313
348. The Senate the guiding force in the state	314

C. Summary.

349. Democratic theory and aristocratic practice	315
--	-----

III. SOCIETY IN ROME AND ITALY.

350. Economic conditions	315
351. Moral character and ideals	316
352. The reaction of Magna Graecia upon Rome	317

IV. THE ARMY.

SECTION	PAGE
353. The flexible legion (contrasted with the phalanx) . . .	317
354. The Roman camp	319
355. Roman discipline	319
356. Changes with extension of service: a professional army; pro- consuls	319

CHAPTER VI.—EXPANSION CONTINUED, 264–146 B.C.
THE WINNING OF THE WEST.

I. THE TWO RIVALS IN THE WEST.

357. Italy in 264 B.C. one of <i>five</i> great Mediterranean powers . .	321
358. Carthage the natural rival in the West	321
359. The issue at stake	323

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SICILY").

360. Occasion	324
361. Relative strength of the combatants	324
362. Value of the control of the sea	325
363. Rome becomes a sea power	326
364. Rome's patriotism and enterprise	326
365. Peace; Sicily becomes Roman	326

III. FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 241–218 B.C.

366. The addition of Sardinia and Corsica	327
367. The Adriatic a Roman sea	327
368. The addition of Cisalpine Gaul	328
369. Organization of the conquests: the provincial system . .	328

IV. SECOND PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SPAIN"), 218–202 B.C.

370. Occasion	329
371. Hannibal	330
372. Hannibal at Saguntum	330
373. Hannibal's invasion of Italy, to Cannae	331
374. Cannae	331
375. Fidelity of the Latins and Italians to Rome	332
376. Rome's grandeur in disaster	332
377. Neglect of the sea by Carthage and lack of concerted action by her allies	333

SECTION	PAGE
378. The Scipios and Hasdrubal in Spain	334
379. Changed character of the war in Italy after Cannae	334
380. "Hannibal at the Gates"	334
381. Hannibal's forces worn out	335
382. Hasdrubal's invasion: battle of the Metaurus	335
383. Scipio carries the war into Africa: battle of Zama; peace	336
384. The result of the war: Rome mistress in the West	337

V. EXPANSION IN THE WEST FROM 201 TO 146 B.C.

A. Spain.

385. Heroic Spanish war for independence	338
386. Romanization	339

B. Africa: The Third Punic War.

387. Rome seeks perfidious excuse against Carthage	339
388. Carthage disarmed; Rome declares war	340
389. Heroic resistance of Carthage	341
390. Carthage blotted out: the "Province of Africa"	341

CHAPTER VII. — WINNING THE EAST, 201-146 B.C.

I. AN ATTEMPT TO STOP WITH PROTECTORATES.

391. Beginnings of influence in the East before 200 B.C.: the Illyrian pirates; the First Macedonian War	343
392. Second Macedonian War (201-196 B.C.): Macedonia a dependent ally; Greek states "allies"	343
393. The war with Antiochus: Syria an "ally"	344
394. Rome drawn on to a system of "protectorates" in the East	345

II. ANNEXATION: THE PROTECTORATES BECOME PROVINCES.

395. A gradual process	346
396. Macedonia a province, 146 B.C.	346
397. Rearrangements in Greece	347
398. The "Province of Asia"	348

III. RESULT IN 146 B.C. — A UNITED GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD.

399. Rome the sole great power	348
400. Distinction between the Latin West and the Greek East	349

CHAPTER VIII. — NEW CIVIL STRIFE, 146-49 B.C.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

SECTION	PAGE
401. Summary of the periods of the Republic	350
402. The four great evils: strife between rich and poor, Rome and the allies, Italy and the provinces; barbarian attacks . . .	350
403. Plan of treatment in this chapter	351

II. THE EVILS IN DETAIL.

A. In Rome.

404. Economic and moral decline due to the wars (extremes of wealth and poverty); the new monied aristocracy (Equites)	351
405. Rise of luxury	352
406. Gladiatorial games	353
407. Greek culture	353
408. Continued decline of the yeomanry after the wars from eco- nomic conditions	354
409. Violence of the rich as an added cause of the decay of the yeomanry	355
410. Political results: growth of the mob and decay of the consti- tution	355
411. Political results: decline of the Senate	356

B. In Italy.

412. The distinction between "citizens" and "subjects" drawn more sharply	356
413. Growth of Roman insolence toward the subjects	357

C. In the Provinces.

414. Deterioration of the provincial system	357
415. "Marks" of a province	358
416. The governor	358
417. The provinces "the estates of the Roman people"	359

D. Slavery.

418. Extent and brutal character of Roman slavery	360
419. Slave wars	361

III. THE GRACCHI: ATTEMPTS AT PEACEFUL REFORM.

A. Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B.C.

SECTION	PAGE
420. Previous attempts at reform: the error of Cato and hesitancy of Scipio	362
421. Character of Tiberius	363
422. Tiberius' agrarian proposals: reclaim public land; let out in small, inalienable leases; create standing commission .	363
423. The struggle: unconstitutional measures; victory . . .	364
424. Further proposals; Gracchus murdered	365
425. The work stands nine years, until the Senate attempts a reaction	365

B. Caius Gracchus, 123-121 B.C.

426. Character and aims	366
427. Political measures to win allies: the populace and the knights	366
428. Economic reform	367
429. Personal rule: an uncrowned "tyrant"	367
430. Attempt to extend citizenship: Caius killed	368
431. Overthrow of the work of the brothers	369

IV. MILITARY RULE: MARIUS AND SULLA, 107-78 B.C.

432. The new character of Roman politics	369
433. The war with Jugurtha: new leaders	370
434. Invasion by the Cimbri and Teutones	371
435. Marius the "saviour of Rome"	371
436. Civil disorder; retirement of Marius	371
437. The social war	372
438. All Italy enters the Roman state	373
439. Civil war between Marius and Sulla; first rule of Sulla .	373
440. Rule of Marius and Cinna; the massacre	374
441. Sulla in the East; the war with Mithridates	374
442. The new civil war	375
443. Sulla's second rule: he stamps out the Democrats . . .	375
444. Restoration of senatorial rule	376
445. Sulla's character and place in history	377

V. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78-49 B.C.

446. General view of the thirty years	377
---	-----

<i>A. Pompey's Leadership, 78-59 B.C.</i>		
SECTION		PAGE
447.	Pompey and Crassus	377
448.	Sertorius in Spain	378
449.	Pompey's first chance at the crown in Rome	378
450.	Pompey's second chance ; Roman expansion in the East	380
451.	New leaders in Pompey's absence : Cato, Cicero, Caesar	381
452.	The conspiracy of Catiline	382

B. The Rise of Caesar.

453.	Formation of the first triumvirate : Caesar's consulship	383
454.	Caesar in Gaul : expansion in the West	383
455.	The rupture between Caesar and Pompey	385

PART V.—THE ROMAN EMPIRE: GRAECO- ROMAN WORLD.

CHAPTER I.—FOUNDING THE EMPIRE, 49 B.C.—14 A.D.

I. THE FIVE YEARS OF JULIUS CAESAR, 49-44 B.C.

A. The Moral Question.

456.	Monarchy at Rome inevitable — from (a) corruption at the capital, (b) danger on the frontiers	387
457.	Monarchy right to secure good government in the provinces : Caesar the hope of the subject nationalities	388
458.	Despotism a medicine for Rome	388

B. The Civil War.

459.	Caesar crosses the Rubicon ; campaign in Italy	389
460.	Campaigns in Spain and Greece (<i>Pharsalus</i> , 48 B.C.)	390
461.	The four remaining campaigns (<i>Thapsus</i> and <i>Munda</i>)	390

C. Caesar's Constructive Work.

462.	Caesar's policy of clemency and reconciliation	391
463.	His plan for the form of the new monarchy	392
464.	General measures of reform	393
465.	The provinces	394
466.	The unforeseen interruption	394
467.	Caesar's character and place in history	395

II. FROM JULIUS TO OCTAVIUS, 44-31 B.C.

SECTION	PAGE
468. Antonius and Octavius Caesar	397
469. Formation of the second triumvirate	398
470. The proscription	398
471. Final overthrow of the oligarchs; <i>Philippi</i>	399
472. Dissensions among the triumvirs; <i>Actium</i>	399

III. OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.-14 A.D.

473. Final establishment of the Empire; republican forms	399
474. Character of Augustus	401
475. The Augustan Age	401
476. The worship of the dead Augustus	403

CHAPTER II.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES: AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN.

(THE STORY OF THE EMPERORS.)

477. Nature of the treatment	404
--	-----

I. TWO CENTURIES OF ORDER, 31 B.C.-180 A.D.

A. *The Julian Caesars.*

478. Augustus, 31 B.C.-14 A.D.: a summary	404
479. Tiberius, 14-37 A.D.	405
480. Caligula, 37-41	405
481. Claudius, 41-54	406
482. Nero, 54-68	406

B. *The Flavian Caesars.*

483. Vespasian (Flavianus Vespasianus), 70-79	407
484. Titus, 79-81	408
485. Domitian, 81-96	408

C. *The Antonine Caesars.*

486. Nerva, the first of the "five good emperors"	409
487. Trajan, 98-117	409
488. Hadrian, 117-138	410
489. Antoninus Pius, 138-161	411

SECTION	PAGE
490. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161-180	411
491. Commodus, 180-192	412
492. <i>D. Summary, 31 B.C.-192 A.D.</i>	412

II. A CENTURY OF DISPUTED SUCCESSION BETWEEN MILITARY ADVENTURERS.

493. The period of the "barrack emperors," 193-284	412
494. Table of the emperors	413
495. Some of the strong barrack emperors	413

CHAPTER III.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

(A TOPICAL SURVEY.)

I. THE CONSTITUTION.

A. The Central Government.

496. A despotism under republican forms: the principate	415
497. The power of the emperors	416
498. The establishment of the Empire a gradual process	417
499. Nature of the succession: the weak point in the constitution	417

B. Local Government.

500. Municipal institutions	418
501. Tendency to centralize the local administration	418
502. The provinces; representative assemblies	419

II. IMPERIAL DEFENSE.

A. The Army.

503. Numbers	420
504. Sources	420
505. Industrial and disciplinary uses	421

B. The Frontiers.

506. As Augustus found them	421
507. As Augustus corrected them	422
508. Later additions: Britain	423
509. The greatest extent and the earliest surrenders	423
510. Frontier walls	424

III. SOCIETY IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

A. Peace and Prosperity.

SECTION	PAGE
511. "The good Roman peace"	424
512. Good government, even by bad emperors	425
513. Material prosperity during the first two centuries	425
514. Forms of industry	427

B. The World becomes Roman.

515. Politically, by extension of citizenship	428
516. Socially, in patriotism and aspiration	429
517. Consequent diffusion of social life	430

C. Education in the First Three Centuries.

518. Universities	431
519. Grammar schools and lower schools	432

D. Architecture.

520. Characteristics	434
521. Famous buildings and types	434
522. The Roman basilica and early Christian architecture	436

E. Literature.

523. Before Cicero	438
524. The Age of Cicero	438
525. The Augustan Age	439
526. The first century A.D. after Augustus	439
527. The second century A.D.	439

F. Pagan Morals and Religion.

528. The dark side; the court and the mobs	440
529. Danger of exaggerating the evils: the brighter side; Pliny, Aurelius, the middle classes	441

Special evidence of improvement in:—

530. a. improved position of women	443
531. b. charity	444
532. c. kindness to animals	444
533. d. milder slavery	445
534. e. broader humanity	445
535. f. gentler spirit of imperial law	446

G. Extracts to illustrate the Higher Pagan Morality.

SECTION	PAGE
536. From Marcus Aurelius	446
537. From Epictetus	447

H. Christianity.

538. Some inner sources of its power	448
539. Its debt to the Empire's humane tendencies and political and social unity	449
540. The early persecutions	450
541. Causes of persecution	451
542. Attitude of the imperial government	452
543. Summary	453

IV. THE GENERAL DECLINE IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

544. The third century : political decline (§§ 493-495) and general decay	454
545. Renewal of barbarian attacks	454
546. Decline in population (the plague) and in material prosperity	455
547. Decay in literature	456

CHAPTER IV.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY:
DIOCLETIAN TO THEODOSIUS, 284-395 A.D.*(THE STORY OF THE EMPERORS.)*

I. DIOCLETIAN AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

548. The needs of the Empire : more elaborate machinery and a more settled order of succession	458
549. Diocletian, 284-305	459
550. Diocletian's system of "partnership emperors" ; the Caesars ; the four prefectures	459
551. This system not a division of the empire	460
552. A complex hierarchy	460
553. Table of prefectures and dioceses	461
554. Separation of civil and military powers in the provincial governors	461
555. Growth of a centralized administration	462
556. Despotism avowed ; despotic forms	462
557. General result : a huge complicated machine temporarily efficient	463

II. CONSTANTINE AND THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

SECTION	PAGE
558. From Diocletian to Constantine, 305-312	464
559. Constantine the Great, 312-337	465
560. Constantine's motives for favoring Christianity	465
561. Steps in the victory	466

III. THE EMPIRE FROM THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE
SEPARATION INTO TWO EMPIRES, 337-395.

562. From Constantine to Julian: last attempt to restore paganism	468
563. From Julian to Theodosius: last attempt at "partnership emperors"	469
564. Final separation into two empires	470

CHAPTER V.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

(A TOPICAL STUDY.)

I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

565. Organization	471
566. Growth of a body of doctrine: the Nicene creed and the Arian heresy	472
567. Persecution by the church	473
568. Effect of the conversion of the empire	475

II. SOCIETY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

569. Growing exhaustion: internal decay	476
570. Classes of society	476
571. The senatorial nobility	477
572. The curials	477
573. The middle class	478
574. The artisans	478
575. The peasantry (serfs)	478
576. Approach of a caste system	480
577. Crushing taxation	480
578. The infusion of barbarian blood and customs	480

III. LITERATURE AND SCIENCE: RAPID DECLINE.

579. Theological character of the literature; authors and works .	481
580. Unfavorable attitude of the Christians toward pagan learning .	482
581. Other and deeper causes of the decay	484

PART VI.—ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.—THE TEUTONS.

SECTION	PAGE
582. Early home and the different Germanic peoples	485
583. Stage of culture	486
584. Character	487
585. Religion	488
586. Political organization	489
587. The "companions"	490
588. The charm of the South	490

CHAPTER II.—THE INVASIONS, 376-565 A.D.

I. THE TEUTONS BREAK OVER THE BARRIERS.

A. The Danube.

589. West Goths admitted into the empire ; Adrianople, 378 A.D.	492
590. Alaric in Greece, Illyria, and Italy	494
591. The sack of Rome by the Goths, 410 A.D.	494
592. Visigothic kingdom in Spain, 419 A.D.	495

B. The Rhine.

593. The barrier bursts, 406 A.D.	496
594. Kingdom of the Burgundians	496
595. The Vandals in Spain ; Vandal kingdom in Africa	496
596. Franks and Romans in North Gaul	497
597. The Saxons and Angles in Britain	497

II. THE HUNS.

598. Turanian peoples	498
599. The Huns in Gaul ; the rallying of the West	499
600. Châlons	499
601. Attila in Italy ; Pope Leo ; Venice	500

III. ITALY AND THE EMPIRE FROM ALARIC TO THE LOMBARDS,
410-568.*A. The Empire in the West (Italy) from Alaric to Odovaker.*

602. Italy from the division of the empire between the sons of Theodosius to the reunion of Italy with the East under Zeno	501
--	-----

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxi

SECTION	PAGE
603. Story of the emperors in the West, 395-455	501
604. Story of the rulers of Italy from the sack of Rome by Geiseric to the reunion with the Empire of the East	502

B. The Kingdom of the East Goths in Italy.

605. The Goths before entering Italy ; Theodoric	503
606. The conquest of Italy	504
607. "Theodoric the Civilizer," 493-526 A.D.	504
608. Theodoric's "empire"	505
609. Elements of weakness : Arianism	506

C. Revival of the Empire at Constantinople.

610. The "Greek Empire," or "Byzantine Empire"	507
611. Slav invasions	507
612. Justinian : restoration and reconquests of Africa, of parts of Spain, and of Italy	507
613. The Justinian Code	508

D. The Lombards in Italy.

614. Called in by Narses	509
615. Final break-up of Italian unity for 1300 years ; Italy divided between Lombard and Greek	509

IV. THE FRANKS.

616. Preëminence among Teutonic conquerors, because (a) they expanded rather than migrated, and (b) adopted Catholic rather than Arian Christianity	510
617. Clovis : early conquests (Soissons and Strasburg)	510
618. Clovis' conversion ; motives and political results	511
619. Later conquests of Clovis and his sons ; the Frankish empire of the seventh century	511
620. The Frankish state under the later Merovingians	512

V. BRITAIN.

621. Causes for the slowness of the Teutonic conquest	513
622. Result of the slow conquest : England a Teutonic state	513
623. Conversion to Christianity	514
624. Three political results	514

CHAPTER III.—THE STATE OF WESTERN EUROPE,
400–800.

SECTION	PAGE
625. Plan of treatment	516
I. DESTRUCTION AND DISORDER, WITH GERMS OF PROGRESS.	
A. <i>The Dark Side.</i>	
626. The loss to civilization	516
627. New causes for decline in culture	517
B. <i>Causes of the Preservation of Some of the Roman Civilization.</i>	
628. The barbarian conquests accomplished by small numbers .	518
629. The conquests attended with little fighting (outside Britain) .	518
630. Reverence of the conquerors for the Roman civilization .	518
631. Influence of the old populations	519
632. The church	519
633. Summary	520
II. SOME OF THE SURVIVALS AND SOME NEW INSTITUTIONS.	
634. A. <i>The Idea of One Universal Empire</i>	521
B. <i>Monasticism.</i>	
635. Eastern hermits and Western monks	522
636. Growth of monasticism. Organization	523
637. The vows; the monastic life	523
638. Relation to the other clergy	524
C. <i>Development of Teutonic Law.</i>	
639. Written codes	524
640. Personality of law	525
641. Trial: compurgation; ordeal; combat	525
642. Money payment for offenses	526
643. D. <i>Development of New Political Institutions</i>	526
III. SUMMARY OF ROMAN AND TEUTONIC CONTRIBUTIONS.	
644. Contributions from the Roman Empire	527
645. Contributions from the Teutons	528
646. Influence of the mixture	528

CHAPTER IV.—POLITICAL EUROPE, 600–768 A.D.

I. THE FRANKS TO CHARLES MARTEL.

SECTION	PAGE
647. Rivalry of Austrasia and Neustria	530
648. “Do-nothing kings” and mayors of the palace	530
649. Pippin of Heristal: Testry; supremacy of Austrasia and re- founding of the Frankish state	531
650. Charles Martel: restoration of authority over outlying prov- inces in time to meet the Mohammedan onset	532

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL.

651. Arabia before Mohammed	532
652. Mohammed to the Hegira, 622 A.D.	533
653. From the Hegira to Mohammed’s death, 632 A.D.	534
654. The ninety years of conquest	535
655. Attack upon Europe in the East: repulses at Constantinople in 678 and 717 A.D.	535
656. Attack in the West: repulse at Tours, 732 A.D.	536
657. The splitting of the Mohammedan state; later Mohammedan- ism; elements of degeneracy	537

III. THE PAPACY.

A. *Rise to Ecclesiastical Headship.*

658. Claim: doctrine of the Petrine supremacy	538
659. Six factors that helped to support the claim in the West	539
660. Eastern rivalry removed by the Mohammedan conquest and by the Great Schism	540

B. *The Pope becomes a Temporal Sovereign.*

661. Indefinite authority as a civil officer of the Greek emperor	541
662. This virtual independence avowed by open rebellion	542
663. Recognition and protection by the Franks	543

IV. THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY: FROM CHARLES THE
HAMMER TO CHARLES THE GREAT.

664. The new Carolingian dynasty; papal sanction	543
665. Pippin enlarges the papal state: “donation of Pippin”	544
666. Different views as to the nature of the papal authority; the forged “donation of Constantine”	544

CHAPTER V.—THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

I. CHARACTER OF CHARLEMAGNE.

SECTION	PAGE
667. Charlemagne the man	546

II. EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF TEUTONIC CIVILIZATION.

668. The Frankish state at Charlemagne's accession	547
669. Character of Charlemagne's wars	547
670. The winning of the Saxon lands, to the Elbe, 772-804	548
671. Spain, Italy, Bavaria	549
672. Result: the union of the civilized German peoples	549
673. Defensive wars against the Eastern Slavs; tributary states	550

III. REVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

674. Reasons and pretexts	551
675. Election and coronation by Pope Leo, 800 A.D.	551
676. Theory of the Empire	552
677. The Western and Eastern Empires contrasted	552
678. Empire of Charlemagne and the old Roman Empire contrasted	552
679. The Great Powers in 800	553

IV. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

680. General poverty and misery of the times	554
681. Political organization	554
682. Relations to the church	556
683. Schools and education	556
684. Place of the restored Empire in history	557
685. The place of Charlemagne	557

At the close of the chapters, and of the more important subdivisions of chapters, there are given bibliographies and suggestions for review.

APPENDIX: I. Table of Events and Dates	559
II. A Classified Bibliography	567
INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY	577

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. Remains of an Etruscan Arch at Volaterrae	258
2. Remains of the Wall of Servius	267
3. The Cloaca Maxima	268
4. Coin struck by Pyrrhus in Sicily	302
5. The Appian Way To-day, with Ruins of the Claudian Aqueduct	310
6. Carthaginian Coin struck in Sicily	322
7. Coin of Hiero II. of Syracuse	322
8. Coin of Sulla struck in Athens	375
9. Pompey the Great. A bust in the Spada Palace	379
10. Cicero. The Vatican bust	381
11. Julius Caesar. The British Museum bust	384
12. Marcus Brutus. A bust in the Capitoline Museum	395
13. Octavius Caesar as a Boy. A bust now in the Vatican	398
14. Augustus. The Vatican statue	402
15. Detail from Trajan's Column : Trajan sacrificing at the Bridge over the Danube	410
16. A German Bodyguard. A detail from the column of Marcus Aurelius	420
17. The Aqueduct at Nîmes	427
18. The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum	433
19. A Section of the Pantheon as at Present	434
20. The Coliseum To-day	435
21. Trajan's Column To-day	436
22. Plan of a Basilica	437
23. Interior of Trajan's Basilica as restored by Canina	437
24. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. A bust now in the Louvre	442
25. Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius. A bust now in the Louvre	443
26. The Arch of Constantine	464
27. Hall of the Baths of Diocletian. Now the Church of St. Mary of the Angels	474
28. A Dolmen of the Ancient Germans	486
29. Battle-ax and Mace : arms of Teutonic chieftains in an early period	486
30. Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna (time of Theodoric the Great)	505
31. Sepulcher of Theodoric at Ravenna	506
32. Throne of Charlemagne at Aachen	553

MAPS AND PLANS.

	PAGE
1. Ancient Italy. (General Reference.) Full page, colored, <i>facing</i>	256
2. Peoples of Italy	259
3. Rome under the Kings	266
4. Rome and Vicinity	269
5. Italy about 200 B.C. : Roads and Colonies	308
6. Plan of a Roman Camp	318
7. Rome and Carthage at the Beginning of the First Punic War .	325
8. The Mediterranean Lands at the Beginning of the Second Punic War (The Five Great Powers). Double page, colored <i>following</i>	328
9. Roman Dominions and Dependencies in 146 B.C.	348
10. Vicinity of the Bay of Naples	408
11. The Roman Empire at its Greatest Extent (showing also Stages in Growth). Double page, colored <i>following</i>	422
12. Rome under the Empire	432
13. The Roman Empire divided into Praefectures and Dioceses. Double page, colored <i>following</i>	460
14. The Rhine-Danube Frontier before the Great Migrations. Full page	493
15. The Migrations. Double page, colored <i>following</i>	494
16. Europe in the Reign of Theodoric (500 A.D.). Full page, colored <i>facing</i>	504
17. Europe at the Death of Justinian (565 A.D.). Full page, colored <i>facing</i>	508
18. Germanic Kingdoms on Roman Soil at the Close of the Sixth Century. Double page, colored <i>following</i>	512
19. Kingdom of the Merovingians. Full page, colored . <i>facing</i>	530
20. Europe at the End of the Seventh Century. Full page, colored <i>facing</i>	543
21. Europe in the Time of Charles the Great. Double page, colored <i>following</i>	552

PART IV.

ROME.

The center of our studies, the goal of our thoughts, the point to which all paths lead and the point from which all paths start again, is to be found in Rome and her abiding power. — FREEMAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

Divisions I and V of this chapter are suitable for reading and discussion in class. The other three divisions (Geography of Italy, Peoples of Italy, and Geography of Rome) should be studied more carefully.

I. THE PLACE OF ROME IN HISTORY.

252. Preceding History : Oriental Contributions Material ; Greek Contributions Intellectual. — Our civilization began seven thousand years ago in the fertile valleys of Egypt and western Asia. Slowly war and trade spread it around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. But the contributions of this Oriental civilization to the future were mainly *material*. About 600 B.C. the Greeks, in their Aegean home and in their many settlements scattered along all the Mediterranean coasts, became the leaders in civilization. They made marvelous advance in art, literature, philosophy, and in some sciences. Their chief contributions were *intellectual*. After about three hundred years, under Alexander the Great, they suddenly conquered the East and formed a Graeco-Oriental World; but politically the empire of Alexander broke at once into fragments.

253. Rome the Representative of Government and Law. —

During the last part of Greek history there had been growing up a power in the peninsula to the west of Greece, which was soon to become the political master of the world and to make new advances in civilization. This power was Rome. As Greece stands for art and intellectual culture, so Rome stands for *organization* and *law*. The peculiar function of Rome was to make empire and to rule it. This the Romans themselves recognized; their poet Vergil wrote:—

“Others, I grant, indeed, shall with more delicacy mold the breathing brass; from marble draw the features to the life; plead causes better; describe with a rod the courses of the heavens, and explain the rising stars. To rule the nations with imperial sway be thy care, O Roman. These shall be thy arts: to impose terms of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud.”

Rome began as a village of rude shepherds and peasants by the bank of the Tiber. Her history is the history of the growth of a village into a city-state, the growth of that city-state into a united Italy, and the further growth of that Italy into a world-state. Rome did first for the villages of its surrounding hills what Athens did for the villages of Attica. It went on to do for all Italy what Athens tried in vain to do for all Greece. Then it did for all the Mediterranean world what Alexander failed to do—save for a moment—for the eastern half. By conquest Rome extended her civilization over the barbarians of the west of Europe, and then united under the same sway the Hellenic realms of the East. Shortly before the birth of Christ she had organized the fringes of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean into one Graeco-Roman society.

The Greeks, aside from their own contributions to civilization, had collected the arts and sciences of all the nations of antiquity. Rome preserved this common treasure of mankind and herself added laws and institutions which have influenced all later time. The Roman Empire, says Freeman, is the central “*lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose*

themselves and which all the streams of modern history flow out of."

254. The Roman and the Greek: Work and Character.—It was not Rome's genius in war, great as that was, which enabled her to make the world Roman. It was her political wisdom and her organizing power. The Romans were stern and harsh, but they were also just, obedient, reverent, and legal-minded. They were a disciplined people, and they loved order. The work of the Greeks and that of the Romans are happily related. Each is strong where the other is weak. The Greeks gave us philosophy and art; the Romans, political institutions and legal systems.

"The Greeks had more genius; the Romans more stability. . . . They [the Romans] had less delicacy of perception, . . . but they had more sobriety of character and more endurance. . . . Versatility belonged to the Greek, virility to the Roman."—FISHER, *Outlines of Universal History*, 125.

"Action, achievement, and, as means to these, order, system, law, not attention to ideas or ideals, mark the Roman nature."—ANDREWS, *Institutes of General History*, 73.

"If it be true, as is sometimes said, that there is no literature which rivals the Greek except the English, it is perhaps even more true that the Anglo-Saxon is the only race which can be placed beside the Roman in creative power in law and politics."—GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 21.

II. THE LAND.

255. Limits: Meaning of the Name "Italy."—Modern Italy, bounded by the Alps and the sea, is made up of two distinct halves,—the level valley of the Po extending from east to west, and the slender mountainous peninsula reaching from it south into the Mediterranean. Until about 27 B.C., however, the Po valley was always considered part of Gaul (*Cisalpine Gaul*, or *Gaul this side the Alps*). During all early Roman history the name *Italy* belonged not to this valley, but only to the true peninsula with the Apennine range for its backbone.

Like Greece, Italy was specially fitted by nature for the work it was to do. We must observe three ways in which its geography affected its history (§§ 256–258).

256. Geographical and Political Unity. — Italy was more fit than Greece for that internal union which is the only safe basis for external empire. The geographical divisions are larger and less distinct than the divisions in Greece, and so the inhabitants were more easily united by conquest under one government. Moreover, the fertile plains were better suited to agriculture and grazing than were the lands of Greece, while the coast lacked the many harbors and the island-studded sea that invited the earliest Hellenes to commerce. Civilization came later, but energy and effort were kept at home longer, until the foundations of empire were more securely laid.

257. Geography and the Direction of the First Outside Effort. — The geography of Italy determined also the direction of Italy's first conquests. The Apennines are nearer the eastern coast than the western, and on the eastern side the short rocky spurs and swift torrents lose themselves quickly in the Adriatic. The western slope is nearly twice as broad; here are the large fertile plains and the few rivers, and, as a result, most of the few harbors and the important states.

Thus Italy and Greece stood back to back (§ 71 *d*). Greece faced the old Oriental civilizations. Italy faced west toward Spain, and, through Sicily, toward Africa. When she was ready for outside work, she gave herself to conquering and civilizing these western lands with their fresh, vigorous peoples. It was only after this had been accomplished that she came in contact with the Graeco-Oriental world.¹

258. Geographical Position and External Dominion.² — European culture began in the peninsula which was at once "the most European of European lands" and the European land

¹ Except for the Greek states in southern Italy.

² Fuller discussions in Mommsen, I, 15–17; How and Leigh, 2–11.

REFERENCE MAP



nearest to the older civilizations of the East (§§ 70, 71 *d*). Just as fittingly, the state which was to unite and rule all the coasts of the Mediterranean had its home in the central peninsula which divides that inland sea. When her struggle for empire began, her central position enabled Italy to cut off the Carthaginian power in Africa and Spain from its Hellenic allies in the East and to conquer her enemies one by one.

EXERCISE.—Map study: note that *Liguria*, *Gallia Cisalpina*, and *Venetia* are outside the true Italy (§ 255); fix the position of *Etruria*, *Latium*, *Campania*, *Samnium*, and the *Sabines*; observe that the *Arnus* (Arno), in Etruria, the *Tiber*, between Etruria and Latium, and the *Liris*, between Latium and Campania, are the most important river systems, and that their basins were the early homes of culture in Italy.

III. THE PEOPLES OF ITALY.¹

259. A Mingling of Races.—For some centuries in the period we are to study, Italy was the mistress of the world. Before that time, as since, she had been the victim of conquering peoples. Even in prehistoric times, the fame of her fertility and beauty had tempted swarm after swarm of invaders across the Alps and the Adriatic, and already at the opening of history the land held a curious mixture of races.

260. Chief Divisions.—The center of the peninsula was the home of the *Italians* who were finally to give their language and law to the whole land. They fell into two branches. The western Italians were lowlanders, and were called Latins. Their home was in Latium. The eastern and larger section of the Italians were highlanders, and were again subdivided into Sabines, Samnites, Volscians, Aequians, Lucanians, and so on.

The more important of the other races were the *Greeks* in the south and the *Gauls* and *Etruscans* in the north. The Greeks of Magna Graecia have been referred to in earlier

¹ Read How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, 11-19. Advanced students may consult Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I, 9-17. Sergi's *Mediterranean Race* gives recent theories.

pages. The Gauls held the Po valley. They were merely a portion of the Gauls from beyond the Alps, and were still rude barbarians.



REMAINS OF ETRUSCAN ARCH AT VOLATERRAE.

The Etruscans were a mysterious people—"the standing riddle of history." At an early time they had held the Po

valley and all the western coast from the Alps to the Greek cities of the south. But before exact history begins, the Latins and the Samnites of Campania had thrown off their yoke and driven them from all lands south of the Tiber, while the Gauls had expelled them from the Po valley. Thus they had become



restricted to the central district, Etruria, just across the Tiber from the Latins.

The Etruscans were still, however, the most civilized people in Italy. They were mighty and skillful builders, and have left many interesting ruins, with multitudes of inscriptions in a language to which scholars can find no key. They became celebrated early for their work in bronze and iron, and they

were the first people in Italy to engage in commerce. Probably they introduced many arts from the Phoenicians and Greeks.

In later times their power declined rapidly before the rising Roman state, the heir of their civilization. Etruscan builders reared the walls of early Rome, drained her marshes, and fringed the Tiber-side with great quays. The Roman's dress (the toga), his house, his favorite amusements (the cruel sports of the amphitheater), and much of his religion (especially the divination and soothsaying), were Etruscan in origin; while from the same source he learned his unrivaled power to build for all time.¹ The Etruscans were Rome's first teachers. Later, the Greeks of south Italy were to take up that office.

261. "Fragments of Forgotten Peoples." — Besides these four great races, — Italians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Gauls, — whom Rome was finally to fuse into one strong and noble nation, there were also fragments of earlier peoples in ancient Italy. In the southern mountains were the Iapygians; in the marshes of the northeast, the Veneti; and, in the extreme northwest, between the Alps and the sea, the wild *Ligurians*. These last were rude hill-men, who had fought savagely for their crags and caves with Etruscans and Gauls, and were long to harass the Roman legions with guerilla warfare. Later, they furnished Rome an admirable light infantry.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES OF ROME.

262. Roman Geography Important. — At first Rome was simply one of many Italian towns; and, so far as we can tell, her development was like that of the others. It is impossible to say why just this city, rather than some other of the same land, should finally have become the ruling power in Italy. Still we can see that the greatness of Rome rested, in part, at least, upon geographical conditions. Four factors may be noted (§§ 263–266).

¹ A brief discussion of the question of an Etruscan conquest of early Rome is given in Pelham's *Outlines*, 32–36. See also Mommsen's theory (*History*, I, 414). Charles Godfrey Leland's *Etrusco-Roman Remains* (especially in the Introduction) gives a most interesting account of the survival to-day among the Tuscan peasantry of the ancient Etruscan paganism and divination

263. Central Position in Italy. — Rome is the central city of the peninsula, and so had advantages for consolidating Italy like those enjoyed by Italy for unifying the Mediterranean coasts. It was not by accident that Mediterranean dominion fell to the *central city* of the *central peninsula*.

264. A Commercial Site. — The Tiber was the one navigable river of Italy. In old times ships sailed up the river to Rome, while barges brought down to her wharves the wheat and wine of the uplands. The site had the advantages of a port, but was far enough from the coast to be safe from sudden raids by pirates. There is no doubt that Rome's greatness in Latium was largely due to her importance as a mart of commerce.¹

265. Rome a "Mark State." — Early Rome was a "mark state" of the Latins; that is, it bordered upon hostile peoples. Just across the Tiber lay the Etruscans, and in the eastern mountains dwelt the Sabines. The Romans were the champions of the Latins against these foes. Thus they came to excel the other Latins in war. Their position was favorable, also, to some mingling of tribes, and Roman traditions assert that such a mingling did take place (§ 271).

266. "The Seven Hills": Federation. — Most important of all these geographical factors, Rome was "the city of the *seven hills*." Italian towns, like the Greek (§ 80), had their origin each in some acropolis, or hill fortress; and even in Latium there were many settlements, like Alba Longa or Praeneste, that frowned from more formidable heights than those held by Rome. But nowhere else was there so placed in the midst of a fertile plain a *group of hills*.

Three or more of these close-lying hills became each the home of a distinct tribe. These settlements could not well avoid close intercourse of some kind. They could not very well always fight one another; and so, by conquest or by treaty, a strong union was almost sure to result. Tradition and

¹ Read Mommsen, I, 59-62, on the Tiber traffic, or Tighe, 51-53; and, if accessible, Goldwin Smith's "Greatness of the Romans," in *Lectures and Essays*.

geography agree that Rome arose from such a group of separate towns.¹

V. LEGENDARY HISTORY.

267. Old Writers and Sources.²—The Romans did not begin to write the history of their city until about 200 B.C.³ Even then the first histories were meager annals. For the early centuries the composers found two kinds of material,—scant official records and unreliable family chronicles.

a. The records comprised only lists of magistrates, with brief notices of striking events and of peculiar phenomena, like an eclipse. Moreover, even these barren records had been destroyed up to the year 390 B.C. (when the Gauls sacked the city), and had been restored, imperfectly, from memory.

b. The great clans (*gentes*) fed their pride by family histories, and especially by historical funeral orations; but these were all based upon oral tradition, which was readily distorted by inventions and wild exaggerations, to suit family glory.

From such sources, early in the second century B.C., *Fabius Pictor* (§ 523) wrote the first connected history of Rome. He and his successors (mostly Greek slaves or adventurers) trimmed

¹ Freeman's *Historical Essays*, Second Series, 252, 253; Ihne's *Early Rome*, 6-8; Mommsen, I, 62-71 and 100-109. Advanced students will observe that the gain was not merely in physical power. That was the least of it. Early societies are fettered rigidly by custom, so that the beginnings of change are inconceivably slow. In Rome the union of distinct societies broke these bonds at a period far earlier than common. Necessity compelled the tribes to adopt broad views of their relations toward each other, and compromise took the place of inflexible custom. Thus began the process of association that was later to unite Italy, and Rome was started upon the development of her marvelous system of law.

² The class should read Ihne's *Early Rome*, 9-31; or Ihne's *History*, I, 277-284; or Tighe, 7-17. Study also the extracts from the later Roman writers themselves in Munro's *Source Book of Roman History*, 4-5. The Romans had no Homer to leave a picture of their early life. Some modern scholars, however, believe that there must have been a copious ballad literature among the people, from which early historians could draw. Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* was an attempt to reproduce such ballads as Macaulay thought must once have existed. For criticism of this idea, see Ihne's *Early Rome*, 18, 19.

³ Compare this date with that of historical writing at Athens (§ 185).

and patched their narratives ingeniously to get rid of gross inconsistencies; borrowed freely from incidents in Greek history, to fill gaps; and so produced an attractive story that hung together pretty well in the absence of criticism. These early works are now lost; but, two hundred years later, they furnished material for *Livy* and *Dionysius*, whose accounts of the legendary age were accepted as real history¹ until after 1800 A.D.

268. Abstract of the Legends of Regal Rome.—According to the legendary story, Rome was ruled from 753 to 510 B.C. by seven successive kings. The founder, *Romulus*, was the son of Mars (God of War) and of a Latin princess. As a babe he had been exposed to die, but was preserved and suckled by a wolf. He grew up among rude shepherds; with their aid he built a city on the Palatine Mount above the old wolf's den; here he gathered about him outlaws from all quarters, and these men seized the daughters of a Sabine tribe for wives. This led to war, and finally to the union of the Romans and the Sabines, who then settled upon one of the neighboring hills. Romulus organized the people into tribes, *curias*, and *gentes*; appointed a Senate; conquered widely; and was finally taken up to heaven by the gods in a thunderstorm, or, as some thought, was killed by jealous senators.² *Numa*, the next king, elected after a year's interregnum, established religious rites, and gave laws and arts of peace, which were taught him by the nymph *Egeria* in a sacred grove by night. *Tullus Hostilius*, a warlike conqueror, is a shadowy Romulus, and *Ancus Marcius* is a faint copy of Numa. The fifth king was *Tarquin the First*, an Etruscan adventurer, who was succeeded by *Servius Tullius*, son of a slave girl. Servius reorganized the government, and was followed by a second Tarquin, *Tarquin the Proud*, whose oppression led to his expulsion and to the establishment of a Republic. The last three sovereigns were "tyrants" in the Greek sense. They favored the common people (the *plebs*) against the aristocratic *patricians*, extended the sway of Rome, and constructed great and useful works.

269. The Attitude of Modern Scholars toward these Legends.—To scholars of the time of the American Revolution, Romulus

¹ Livy himself spoke modestly of the unreliability of much of his material for the early period (see the reference, on page 262, to Munro's *Source Book*); but later writers repeated his story without his cautions regarding it.

² Read this story in Livy (bk. i, ch. xvi) or in Munro's *Source Book*, 66, 67.

and Tarquin were real persons as truly as Queen Elizabeth or William the Conqueror. Early in the nineteenth century, however, critical scholars began to inquire into the inconsistencies in the narrative. Such investigation soon forced the world to give up the old history. No one now regards the stories of the kings as history. Indeed, no one pretends to know more than a general outline of Roman history before 390 B.C.; and for a century after that date the details are very uncertain.¹

The positive opinions of modern scholars regarding this early period will be stated briefly in the next chapter.

¹ The stories themselves do have two kinds of historical value. (1) They afford a basis for guesses at historical truth, some of which can then be proven good in other ways. (2) In any case they show what the later Romans thought noble and admirable.

CHAPTER II.

PROBABLE CONCLUSIONS AS TO REGAL ROME.

I. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.

270. Latium and Rome.—The Latins were divided into thirty tribes or cantons, each settled around some hill-fort in Latium. At first Rome was by no means the most important of these centers. In the early day the leading settlement was Alba Longa (the Long White City), which was the head of a rude Latin union, somewhat like a Greek amphictyony but more political in character.

271. Growth of Rome: Unification of the Seven Hills.—The oldest part of Rome seems to have been a settlement on the crest of the *Palatine*, the central one of the group of low hills on the south side of the Tiber. The solidly built walls of this "square town" can still be traced. The inhabitants called themselves *Ramnes*. Probably they were a military outpost of the Latins, to hold the Tiber frontier against the Etruscans.

At some later time a band of Sabines, called *Titites*, established themselves on the *Quirinal*, another of the same group of hills. No doubt a long period of war followed, with occasional truces and meetings for trade in the marshy ground between the two hills; but finally the *Ramnes* of the *Palatine* and the *Titites* of the *Quirinal* united on equal terms in one state and inclosed the two hills within one wall. Then the low ground between the *Palatine* and *Quirinal* became the place of assembly (*Comitium*) and the market place (*Forum*),¹ and the steep

¹ The opening of the huge arched drain, *Cloaca Maxima*, which a little later (in the time of the Tarquins, according to the common tradition) turned this marshy district into firm ground, can still be seen; see illustration, page 268.

Capitoline hill, a little on one side, became the common citadel of the enlarged state.

From time to time new settlements on the neighboring hills

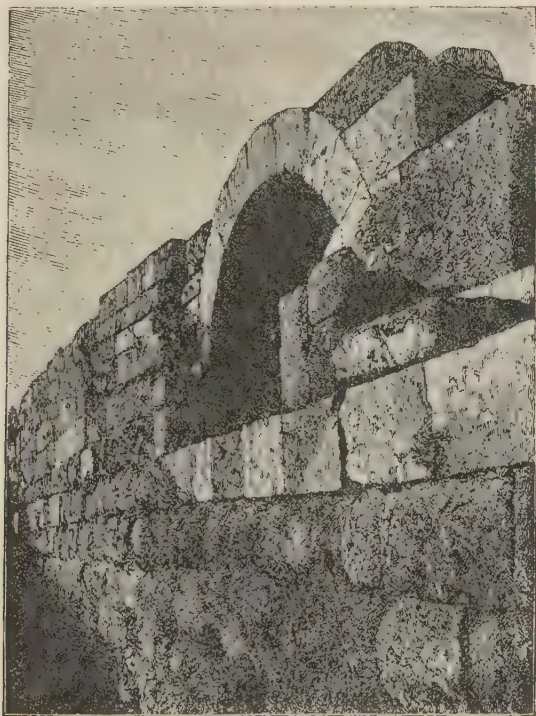


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| 1. Citadel (Arx). | 4. Citadel at Janiculum. | 7. Senate House (Curia). |
| 2. Temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus). | 5. Old Wall of Romulus. | 8. Comitium. |
| 3. Quays of the Tarquins. | 6. Temple of Vesta. | |

were incorporated with this city. The most important of these newcomers were the *Luceres*, who settled on the *Caelian* hill. Probably they were Latins, but it is possible that they were Etruscan invaders, as some traditions say. At all events, they

were finally joined to the Ramnes and Tities on an equal footing.¹

Each of these additions called for another wider wall. The latest of the early walls, known as the "Wall of Servius," inclosed all the seven

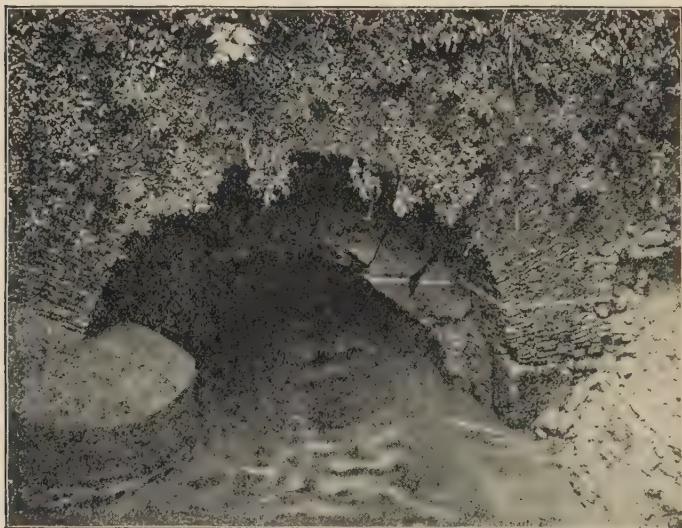


REMAINS OF THE "WALL OF SERVIUS" ON THE AVENTINE.

¹ Apart from tradition, the proofs of original separate settlements are manifold. Later Latin writers mention rude ramparts of distinct ancient settlements still existing in their day on the Esquiline, the Capitol, and the Quirinal; while in recent times such remains have been discovered on the Caelian. Various festivals and religious rites of later Rome point also to a union of separate settlements, and a number of double priesthoods indicate a like fact. See Pelham, 15-17, and, more fully, Mommsen, I, 77-87.

hills, together with space enough for the growth of the city to a late period. This wall was thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high. It consisted of a huge rampart of earth, faced on each side by a wall of immense stones fitted together without mortar. A part of this colossal structure has recently been uncovered on the Aventine.

272. Growth of Territory beyond the Walls. — Even after the union of the seven hills, the territory of the city must have



THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

been for a while only a narrow strip along the river, limited on every side by the stream or by the lands of other towns. But before the year 500, war with the neighboring Sabines, Etruscans, and Latins had produced great expansion. Rome had come to hold a third of Latium and to control the whole south bank of the Tiber from the sea to the highlands (about eighteen miles either way from the city). At the Tiber mouth, *Ostia*, the first Roman colony, had been founded for a port; and on the north side of the river, Rome had seized *Mount*

Janiculum and fortified it as an outpost against the Etruscans. Several of the conquered Latin towns had been razed and their inhabitants brought to Rome. Even Alba Longa had been destroyed, and Rome had succeeded to the *headship of the Latin confederacy*.

FOR FURTHER READING.—Mommien, bk. i, chs. iv, vii, or Ihne, I, 8-107. The latter gives a good criticism of the legends. Particular legends of the regal period may be assigned to individual students for criticism through these authors. See also How and Leigh, 20-42.



II. CLASSES—PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

273. Patricians and their Clients.—The three tribes, *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres* (§ 271), formed “the Roman people” in a strict sense. Their tribesmen were known as *patricians* (men “with fathers,” or men having citizenship because of their fathers). For a long time they were the only full citizens, except as they now and then adopted clans or individuals from conquered cantons. They alone could vote or hold office or sue in the law courts.

The great patrician families, however, soon came to contain many dependents known as *clients*. The client was above the slave, but below the son. He could hold property and engage in trade; but his rights were secured only through his patrician patron, who was his representative at law. Against his patron he had no protection, except custom and public opinion. His children remained dependents in the same family.¹

¹ The class of clients was recruited from the freed slaves (who remained attached in this way to the family of their old master) and from strangers who, on coming to Rome, placed themselves voluntarily in this relation to a powerful patrician.

274. Plebeians.—In the early time, occasionally the whole population of a conquered district was removed to Rome. Such people became “clients of the king.” That is, they were dependents, without rights, except as the king might think it well to protect them, and they were subject to his direction. This class became known as *plebeians*.

The rights of the plebeians were less secure at first than those of the clients of individual patricians, but they were freer from the interference of a master. They were reënforced by the refugees and adventurers who flocked to a commercial city like Rome (cf. § 120); and their importance grew with their numbers, until the clients sought escape into their ranks.

Thus the inhabitants of Rome were left in two classes,—the patricians (with their dependents) and the plebeians.

FOR FURTHER READING, especially with reference to the origin and standing of the plebs: Mommsen, I, 109–114; Tighe, 54–58; Ihne, *Early Rome*, 114, 115, or *History*, I, 109, 110; How and Leigh, 41–43.

III. THE PATRICIAN ORGANIZATION.

275. The Family counted for more in Rome than in Greece. This was because of the peculiar power of the Roman father over all his descendants in male lines. When his son took a wife, she, too, leaving her own family, came under his control. His own daughters passed by marriage from his hand under that of some other house-father. Roman law recognized no relationship through females.¹ The father ruled his household and the households of his male descendants, as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay wife, unmarried daughter, grown-up son, or son’s wife; and all that was theirs was his. No appeal lay from him to any higher judge.²

¹ See especially Coulanges, *Ancient City*, 71–75; and cf. § 88 of this book.

² It is a curious fact that, despite the legal slavery of every wife, the Roman matrons possessed a dignity and public influence unknown in Greece. Special report: stories illustrating the influence of women in early Rome. (Can you parallel them in Greek history?)

So much for law. In practice, however, the father was influenced somewhat by near relatives and by his wife's relatives, and even more by public opinion and religious feeling. Thus, a man was declared accursed if he sold a married son into slavery (though no law could prevent or punish him).

276. Gentes and Curias.—In Rome, as in Greece, we find above the family larger blood units,—the *clans*, or *gentes*. Originally, each clan must have been ruled by its chief. The three hundred clans were grouped in thirty *curias*, which, in the earliest historical times, had come to be the most important divisions of the people, both for worship and for government. Each curia possessed its own religious festivals, its own priest, its temple and sacred hearth. In the political Assembly of the people, the curia was the unit for voting. Probably in origin the curia corresponded to the Greek phratry (§ 79); but it had become more vital.

277. The Plebs outside the Patrician Organization.—The client had a place in the family worship (as indeed the slave had). Possibly the client had a place also in the political gatherings of his patron's curia, though he certainly had no vote. *The plebeians, however, were wholly outside the patrician organization.*¹ *They were not citizens at all.* They had no part in the religion or law or politics of the city. They could not intermarry with citizens. Policy and custom required the city to protect their property; but they had no positive assurance even for this against an unscrupulous patrician.²

Still the plebs were not a mere mixed multitude. Many of them must have been brought to Rome in whole clans; and no doubt they kept up their organization, even though patrician law knew nothing of it.³

¹ This seems by far the preferable view. See Ihne, *History*, I, 109-114, and *Early Rome*, 112 and 114-116. See also Coulanges, 299-313, 341-349, 354-359, and elsewhere. The opposite opinion is held by some recent scholars.

² Except in cases where the stranger came voluntarily from a Latin city whose people enjoyed by treaty mutual residence and trading rights with Rome.

³ Read Ihne's *Early Rome*, 114.

IV. RELIGION.

278. Ancestor and Nature Worship ; Greek Influence. — Like the Greeks, the Romans worshiped *ancestors* and the *powers of nature*. The ancestor worship belonged especially to the family and curia; the nature worship, to the state. The Romans lacked imagination to give a human character to the powers of nature, and they never created a rich and beautiful mythology, even though they did finally borrow some of the Greek myths.¹

279. Character : a Worship of Abstractions, by Formal Rites. — The Roman deities were less like men than the Greek gods were. They were more vague and colorless. In consequence, Roman religion seems to us “insipid and dull,” only “a dreary round of ceremonies,”² with little of adoration, no poetry, and no love. As a matter of prudence, the will of the gods was sought out by a study of omens, and they were worshiped with strict observance of ceremonies. Divine favor could be lost by failure to observe precise gestures in a service, or by the omission or addition of a single word.³ On the other hand, the intricacies of the worship had somewhat the value of a conjurer’s charm, and, if carried through in the proper manner, almost compelled the aid of the gods (§ 281).

280. Priesthoods ; Pontiffs and Augurs. — Under these conditions there grew up in Rome (as in other Italian towns) two important “colleges” of city priests,⁴ — *pontiffs* and *augurs*.

a. The six pontiffs had a general oversight of the whole system of divine law, and they were also the guardians of human science. Their care of the exact dates of festivals made them the keepers of the calendar and of the rude

¹ For the correspondence of Greek and Roman gods, see § 88.

² These phrases are Mommsen’s.

³ See Munro’s *Source Book*, page 9, No. 9, a, b.

⁴ A “college” is simply a “collection” of persons. The members of each college held office for life, and themselves filled all vacancies in their number.

annals (§ 267 *α*); they had oversight of weights and measures; and they themselves described their knowledge as "the science of all things human and divine."

b. The gods at Rome manifested their will not by oracles, but by omens, or *auspices*. These auspices were sought especially in the conduct of birds, and in the nature of the entrails of animals. The interpretation of such signs became a kind of science, in the possession of a college of six augurs.

Besides these priesthoods for the religion of the whole city, each temple had its special priests. Of these, perhaps the most important were the six *Vestal Virgins*, who for centuries kept the sacred fire alive and pure on the city hearth.

281. Political Value (Religious Fiction). — The Roman religion became a mighty political instrument. No public act, vote, election, or battle could be begun without divine approval. That approval once given, the gods were to be held to strict account. They were the guardians of contracts, and they themselves were bound by implied bargains with the state. If they were properly consulted concerning a proposed measure and had manifested their approval, then they were under obligation to see it carried through.¹

The thrifty Roman mind drove hard bargains, too, with the gods. Many "legal fictions" were introduced into the worship, so that finally the state might do pretty nearly as it pleased and still hold the gods to its support.² The soothsayers called for fresh animals until the entrails gave the signs desired by the ruling magistrate, and then the gods were just as much bound as if they had shown favor at the first trial. The sky was watched until the desired birds did appear, and, in the later periods, tame birds were kept to give the required indications.

¹ See Munro's *Source Book*, page 16.

² Such "fiction" is common in early religion, but nowhere else has it played so large a part as at Rome.

Even if all signs failed, the augur could still declare that he found them. He might thereby draw down divine wrath upon himself; but, since all forms had been complied with, the gods were bound to treat the state as if the announcement had been true. In the early ages this element of craft was probably absent, but even then the religion had the same bargain-and-sale character.

The priests and augurs, too, were the servants of the state, not its masters. They did not make a distinct hereditary class, but were themselves warriors and statesmen, and, as priests, they acted only at the command of the civil magistrate. The augurs sought no omen, and made no announcement, except when directed to do so.¹

FOR FURTHER READING. — On ancestor worship: Tighe, 35-43, and Coulanges, *Ancient City*, 1-48. For the state religion in general: Ihne, *Early Rome*, 92-104; How and Leigh, 288-292; or a longer discussion in Mommsen, bk. i, ch. xii. For Greek influence: Tighe, 105-108. On "legal fiction" in the Roman religion: How and Leigh, 290; or better, Ihne, *Early Rome*, 99, 100, 103, 125.

V. EARLY POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

282. The King (Rex).—The three political elements—king, council of chiefs, and assembly of tribesmen—which we saw in Homeric Greece (§§ 82-84), appear also in early Rome. The king, however, held a more prominent place. He stood to the Roman state as the father to the Roman family. He was judge, without appeal, in all cases outside a family. He was absolute over the lives of the citizens. He alone could call together Senate or Assembly, or make proposals to them. He alone had the right to nominate his successor,—though the consent of the Assembly was required for the accession of a new king.

¹ For the power of the augurs, see Munro, *Source Book*, page 12.

But the king did not hold this authority against the popular will. He was absolute, because the Romans thought such power right in the head of the family and of the state. Like the house-father, moreover, his authority was limited in practice by custom and by public opinion. He was expected to consider the advice of the Senate, as the father was to consider that of relatives; and he could not change a law without the consent of both the Assembly and the Senate. If he ceased to respect these checks, he was very likely to cease to rule.

283. The Comitia Curiata.—The earliest popular Assembly (*comitia*) was an *Assembly by Curias*. This was a patrician body (§ 277 and note). The curias met at the call of the king, and, as a rule, only to hear his commands; but their approval was required for all *change*,—for offensive war, new laws, the adoption of new clans into a curia or of strangers into a family. The Assembly also approved or rejected the king's nominees for offices.

284. The Senate seems originally to have been a council of the chiefs (cf. § 83) of the three hundred clans. It kept this number, three hundred; but the kings won the power of appointing to vacancies,—probably at first when there were conflicting claims within a clan, and finally at will. The Senate became merely an advisory body, with a right to veto any change.

When a king died, before a successor had been appointed, the Senate resumed more of its original power: its members ruled by turns, for five days each, as *inter-reges* ("kings for an interval"). The first inter-rex was chosen by lot. Each one then named his successor, and any one after the first could nominate a permanent king. No election could take place except upon such nomination. Each inter-rex for his brief rule kept the regal power in full.¹

¹ On these institutions, see Mommsen, bk. i, ch. vi. In particular, read pages 80-85, on the king, and 96-102, on the Senate.

VI. TWO PREHISTORIC REVOLUTIONS.

A. THE PLEBEIANS SECURE SOME POLITICAL RIGHTS.

285. The Plebeians begin to make their Way into the Assembly.

—The first great change in the patrician state (§§ 282–284) was the partial admission of the plebeians into it. Legend asserts that so far as this took place in the regal period it was the work of Tarquin the First and of Servius. Tarquin is said to have secured the admission of certain wealthy plebeian families into the Roman tribes as new gentes. Such a reform, if it took place, did not affect the condition of the great body of the plebs. The change ascribed to Servius is more important, and was connected with a reform of the Roman army (§ 286).

286. The Census of Servius: the Army of Centuries.—Originally, the army was made up of “the Roman people”—the patricians and their immediate clients. The plebeians paid a tax; but as they grew in numbers, the state needed their personal service.

Toward the close of the regal period Rome was a city of eighty thousand or one hundred thousand people (about the size of Athens in the Persian Wars). This gave a fighting body of some twenty thousand. According to the legend, Servius called upon eighteen hundred of the wealthiest citizens to serve as cavalry (*equites*, or *knight*s), and then, for infantry service divided all other landowners, *plebeian and patrician*, into five classes, according to their means.

Eight thousand had property enough so that they could be required to provide themselves with complete armor. They made the front ranks of the phalanx. Behind them stood the second and third classes, less completely equipped, but still ranking as “heavy-armed.” The poorer fourth and fifth classes served as light-armed troops. Each of the five classes was subdivided into *centuries*, or companies of a hundred men

each,¹ and all the non-landowners were enrolled in a mass, to follow the army, if necessary, as workmen or reserves.

When the arrangement was made, there were 193 centuries, as follows:—

Knights	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18
First Class	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	80
Second Class	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Third Class	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Fourth Class	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Fifth Class	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
Engineers and Trumpeters	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
Workmen (the non-landholders)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1

287. The "Army" of Centuries becomes an "Assembly" of Centuries.—In early society the *obligation to fight* and the *right to vote* go together (cf. § 106). Questions of peace and war and the election of military officers would naturally be referred to the war host. Thus, gradually the army of centuries became in peace an Assembly of Centuries (*Comitia Centuriata*), which took to itself the powers of the old Curiate Assembly. The Curiate Assembly remained only for religious exercises and for unimportant political matters.²

288. Aristocratic Character of the Comitia Centuriata.—The army gradually changed its form, but the political gathering—the *Comitia Centuriata*—crystallized in the original shape. This gave a great advantage to the patricians. As the population increased, the poorer classes grew in numbers faster than the rich; but they did not gain political weight, because the *number* of centuries was not changed. The centuries of the

¹ Half of the centuries of each class were made up of the younger men (seventeen to forty-six years of age), who were expected to take the field at any time. The other half, made up of older men, formed the garrison of the city, or were called out only on special occasions.

² If the Assembly of Centuries originated with a tyrant, it may have been part of a plan to lessen the power of the aristocratic patricians. Mommsen and Ihne give opposing views upon this matter. Compare the five classes with the classes in early Athens, § 106.

lower classes came to contain many more than a hundred men each, while those of the knights and first class contained far less; but each century, full or skeleton, still counted one vote.

Thus the knights and the first class (98 of the 193 centuries), even after they had come to be a small minority of the people, could outvote all the rest. They still voted first, too, just as when they stood in the front ranks for battle; and so oftentimes they settled a question without any vote at all by the other classes. And, since the knights and the first class must have remained largely patrician, it is clear that in disputes between the patricians and plebeians the aristocratic party could control all legal action.

289. The Plebeian Gain.—None the less it was a great gain that the position of a man was fixed not by birth and religion, but by his wealth. The arrangement of the centuries still prevented political equality; but the first great barrier against the rise of democracy was broken down.

B. THE LIFE KING REPLACED BY TWO ANNUAL CONSULS.

290. The Early Kingship followed by a "Tyranny."—Besides the change in the old political Assembly, a second great revolution took place about the year 500. This was the disappearance of kingship.¹ Probably many more than seven kings ruled at Rome. The last three (as the legends suggest) were probably "tyrants," supported by the plebeians against the patricians. Thus the overthrow of kingship, as in Greece (§§ 92, 103), seems to have been an aristocratic victory.²

291. The Roman Legend of the Expulsion of the "Tyrants."—The later Romans believed that the last Tarquin oppressed all classes in the state, and that the cruel deeds of his son finally

¹ Compare these early revolutions with those at Athens (§§ 103-114).

² The last kings may also have been Etruscan conquerors (§ 264, note), and their expulsion may have been partly a Latin patriotic movement.

roused the people to fury, so that they drove the family from Rome, abolished kingship, and, in place of a king for life, chose two consuls for a year. This revolution is ascribed to the year 510, — the same year in which the Peisistratids were finally driven from Athens. But while the Greek story is strictly historical, the Roman is mere legend.¹

292. The Real "Expulsion" a Gradual Patrician Movement. —

In after centuries the Romans hated the name king, and the feeling was created largely by the stories of Tarquin's cruelty. Probably, however, these stories were the inventions of the aristocrats long after the "expulsion."² Certainly "king" did not at once become a detested name. At Rome, as at Athens (§§ 93, 103), there remained a king-priest (*rex sacrorum*), whose wife also kept the title of queen (*regina*). The legends themselves represent another Tarquin (Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus) as one of the first two consuls; nor is there any evidence that at first the consuls ruled only for one year. All that we really know is that in prehistoric times the aristocratic patricians in some way reduced and finally abolished kingship.

"The struggle was doubtless longer and sharper, and the new constitution more gradually shaped, than tradition would have us believe. Possibly, too, this revolution at Rome was but part of a wide-spreading wave of change in Latium and central Italy, similar to that which in Greece swept away the old heroic monarchies." — PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, 41.

"The establishment of the consulate is but a vague tradition. . . . The later Romans, when they read of consuls, could scarcely avoid thinking of *annual* consuls, such as they themselves were accustomed to. . . . [But] when we look closely at the story we find that there is absolutely no reason to suppose that the first magistrates after the flight of Tarquin held office for only one year. . . . Collatinus seems to have succeeded by

¹ See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 79-81.

² Students should tell some of these stories as they are given in Livy (*i.e.* Lake Regillus, Brutus and his sons, Horatius at the Bridge, and the Porsena anecdotes). Read also Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

hereditary right; whether or not he was called *consul*, it is probable that his term of office was not yet limited. [There are suggestions in the legends of another revolution to get rid of him.] Then perhaps *by a series of changes*, the monarchy shrank up into the annual consulate of later times, which indeed in form and ceremonial always continued to resemble monarchy." — SEELEY, *Introduction to Political Science*, 233-234.

VII. CHARACTER OF THE CONSULSHIP.

293. The Consuls "Joint Kings for One Year." — The kingship was not altogether abolished. Rather it was modified into a one-year dual kingship. The executive office became elective, and was divided between two men. The term, too, was finally limited to one year. But for that year the new consuls¹ were "kings," nearly in full. They called and dissolved Assemblies at will. In the Assembly they alone could propose measures or nominate magistrates. They regulated the debate. They filled vacancies in the Senate. They ruled the city in peace, and commanded the army in war.

294. Practical Limitations upon the Consuls. — In practice, however, three important limitations appeared upon the power of the consuls. (1) Either consul might find any of his acts absolutely forbidden by his colleague. (2) When they laid down their office, they became responsible to the centuries and the courts for their past acts. (3) Their short term made them dependent upon the advice of the permanent Senate, — against whose will it became almost impossible for them to act.

295. Independence of the Quaestors and the Right of Appeal. — Two other checks upon the consular power quickly grew up.

a. The kings had had assistant judges and treasurers, called *quaestors*. For a time now these officers were appointed by the consuls; but, after 447, they were elected by the centuries,

¹ At first they were called joint *praetors* ("leaders in war"). Cf. the Athenian polemarch (§ 103).

and so became independent of consular control. In later times other officers were created, to take over other parts of the consuls' duties.

b. The kings had held power of life and death, without appeal, unless they themselves chose to consult the people. The consuls kept this power in the field, but, in strict law, not in the city. One of the early consuls, *Valerius Publicola*, carried a law that in cases of condemnation to death an appeal must be allowed to the centuries. This *Valerian Law*, when observed, was a great safeguard against consular tyranny; but it frequently became a dead letter, and it had to be many times reënacted.

296. The Final Check: the Political Temperance of the People and Leaders. — After all, the final check was the force of public opinion and the self-control of the consuls. While in office the consuls were legally responsible to no one; and neither of them could be lawfully checked, save by the other, even if he broke all customs and laws.

This held good even as to the term of office. At first, the theory was, that, when the consuls laid down their power at the end of the year, it was a voluntary abdication. If they refused to lay down office, their acts continued to be valid. Like the old kings, too, they themselves nominated their successors; and, by proposing only two names to the centuries, they could compel the election of their nominees. Later the centuries secured greater freedom of election; and commonly the consuls submitted to the popular will. At crises, however, they sometimes forbade the centuries to vote for certain candidates, or declined to record the votes given.

Such action was rare; and, in the few cases when the consuls did resort to extreme measures of this kind, the deliberate judgment of the people seems to have indorsed them. The fact is a striking evidence of political moderation.

297. The Dictatorship: a Revival of the Kingship to meet a Crisis. — In time of peril, the division of power between two consuls, with the possibility of a deadlock, might easily be

fatal to the city. The remedy was found in temporary revivals of the old kingship under a new name. Either consul, after consulting the Senate, might appoint a *dictator*. This officer was absolute master of Rome, save that his term of office could not exceed *six months*. He had power of life and death in the city as in the army; and he could not be questioned for his acts even when he had laid down his powers. He could not, however, nominate a successor.

298. The Senate, so far as we know, was not *directly* affected by the expulsion of the kings; but of course it held a very different relation to a one-year consul, whose highest ambition would be finally to get into its ranks, from that it had held to a life-king jealous of its power. Its advice grew more constant and imperative, until in fact it became the directing body in the state.

VIII. THE DEBT TO REGAL ROME.

299. The chief contributions of regal Rome to the Republic may be summed up under six heads:—

- a. The Roman city, with its principle of federation and with extensive territory.
- b. The Roman character—dignified, legal-minded, heroically devoted to the state.
- c. A religion shaped into an admirable political instrument.
- d. The family, with its peculiar paternal authority.
- e. The corresponding authority of the two annual consuls in the state.
- f. The basing of political privilege upon wealth in the Comitia Centuriata.

FOR FURTHER READING.—References for the more important or difficult points have been given in foot-notes or by Divisions.

For Divisions I–V (Oldest Roman Society), students should read also Tighe's *Roman Constitution*, chs. ii and iii, and Fowler's *City State*, chs. ii and iii. Granrud's *Roman Constitutional History* is an excellent

handbook, and should be accessible. Advanced students will wish to compare in full the treatments in Mommsen, bk. i, chs. v, xi, xii, and in Ihne's *Early Rome*, chs. v-ix, and *History*, I, ch. xiii.

For Division VI (the Early Revolutions): on the centuriate organization, Ihne, *Early Rome*, 132-140. Advanced students will consult Ihne's and Mommsen's histories, and note the difference between their views. As usual, there is a brilliant treatment in Coulanges' *City State*, 360-371 and 379-387. Coulanges (324-330) has also an interesting chapter showing how the legends of the expulsion of the kings may be rationalized.

For Division VII, advanced students may compare Mommsen, bk. ii, ch. i, and Ihne's *History*, bk. ii, ch. i, or *Early Rome*, ch. x-xii.

REVIEW EXERCISES on Divisions II, III, IV of chapter i and on chapter ii. — (1) Suggestive questions prepared by students (see page 72). (2) List terms for rapid explanation (see page 251). *It is desirable that the important points in these two chapters be fixed thoroughly by frequent reference and review before the class advance much farther.*

CHAPTER III.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE REPUBLIC, 510-367 B.C.

300. The Expulsion of the Kings followed by Class Conflicts.—The first century and a half of the Republic was a period of stern conflict between patricians and plebeians. Torn and distracted by the internal struggle, Rome made little gain externally, and indeed for a time she lost territory.

The peculiar mark of the long internal struggle was the absence of extreme violence. The vehement class conflicts in Greek cities were marked by bloody revolutions and counter-revolutions; the contest in Rome was carried on "with a calmness, deliberation, and steadiness that corresponded to the firm, persevering, sober, practical Roman character." When the victory of the plebs was once won, the result was correspondingly permanent.

I. THE POSITION OF THE CLASSES AFTER 510 B.C.

301. Rome just after 510 B.C. a Patrician Oligarchy.—*The overthrow of the kings was in no sense a democratic movement. It left Rome an oligarchy, and injured the plebs.* The last kings had leaned upon the lower orders. In consequence, they had sought to strengthen the plebeians by grants of public land, by securing them justice, and possibly by aiding them in gaining political power. The aristocratic revolutionists may have bought popular support at first by some superficial concessions,¹ but the plebeians soon found themselves the losers by the change, politically and economically.

¹ Livy says that plebeians were admitted to the Senate to fill the vacancies created by the tyrants. Mommsen adopts this view, and speaks as if they continued to have seats there; but Ihne shows that such a supposition will not hold. See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 127-130, or *History*, 136-138.

302. Political Loss to the Plebs.—No direct attack was made upon their political rights, it is true; but none was needed. The plebeians could control only a small minority of votes in the Assembly of the Centuries, they could hold no office, and they had no way even to get a measure considered. At best, they could vote only upon laws proposed by patrician magistrates, and they could help elect only patrician officers, who had been nominated by other patricians. The patrician Senate, too, had a final veto upon any vote of the mixed centuries, and, in the last resort, the patrician consuls could always fall back upon the patrician augurs to prevent a possible plebeian victory.¹

Thus the political loss to the plebs was very real, though it was wholly indirect. So far as the multitude was concerned, the despotism of a jealous class had taken the place of the despotism of a paternal king.

303. Loss of Standing at Law.—In cases at law there was a like loss to the plebeians. The kings had found it to their interest to see justice done the plebs; but now law became again a patrician possession. It was unwritten, and to the plebs almost unknown; and it was easy, therefore, in any dispute with a plebeian, for a patrician, before patrician judges, to take shameful advantage of its intricacies.

304. Economic Loss and Danger to the Plebs.—The proof as to economic results of the revolution is not so clear. But it appears probable that the victorious patricians sought to bring back the mass of poor plebeians to a kind of slavery—to reduce them to the position of *clients* dependent upon patrician patrons.²

The laws regarding debt were cruelly severe,³ and here the patricians found their opportunity for oppression. The

¹ The augurs could prevent a vote or an election by declaring the auspices unfavorable.

² Coulanges, *Ancient City*, 387-389.

³ See the extract from the laws of the Twelve Tables (§ 315) in Munro's *Source Book*, 54, 55.

plebeians were more liable than formerly to fall into debt for two reasons.

a. The patricians now robbed the plebeians of their share in the public land. When Rome conquered a hostile city, even if she did not destroy it, she took away a half or a third of its territory. The kings sometimes settled colonies of landless plebeians upon this land; sometimes part of the plow land was divided between the soldiers who had won it; but the greater portion of the new territory became a common pasture ground. It belonged to the state, and a small tax was paid for the right to graze cattle upon it.

Strictly, even under the kings, only the patricians had the right to use this grazing land, but the kings had extended the privilege to the plebs also. The patricians now resumed their sole right, and thus reduced to painful straits the poorer plebeians who had eked out a scanty income from their small farms by such aid.¹ At the same time, the sending out of colonies of landless plebeians was stopped, partly because little land was won now for a long time, and partly because the patricians insisted upon keeping for themselves any that was secured.²

b. The conditions of warfare, also, bore more heavily upon the small farmer than upon the great landlord. He was called away frequently to battle; he had no servants to till his fields in his absence; and his possessions were more exposed to hostile forays than were the strongly fortified holdings of his greater neighbor. Thus he might return to find his crops ruined by delay or his homestead in ashes, and he could no longer apply to the king — the patron of the plebs — for assistance.

Thus, more and more the poorer plebeians were forced to borrow tax money from patrician money lenders or to get advances of seed corn and cattle from a neighboring patrician landlord. The debtor's land and person were both mortgaged for payment; and, on failure to pay, the patrician courts gave the creditor possession. The plebeian debtor became a client; or, if he refused to accept this result, he was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains, and torn with stripes.

¹ To make matters worse, the patrician officers ceased to collect the grazing tax. Thus the public land was enjoyed by the patricians as private property, without purchase or tax, while, as a result, the tax on plebeian farms had to be increased, to supply the deficiency in the treasury.

² An excellent brief treatment of the public land is given in Tighe, 82-88. See, too, Mommsen, I, 343-346.

305. Dissatisfaction of the Rich Plebeians. — There were many plebeians, moreover, who were bitterly dissatisfied, although they were rich in goods and lands. This was true especially of the descendants of the old ruling families in the conquered Latin towns whose population had been removed to Rome. These men were aggrieved because they were not allowed to hold office or to intermarry with the old Roman families. Thus they became the natural leaders and organizers of the mass of poorer plebeians.

306. Objects of the Struggle. — Against all these unfavorable conditions (§§ 302-305) the plebeians rose in a struggle that filled a century and a half (510-367 B.C.). At first their demands seem chiefly to have concerned relief from the unjust debtor laws and their right to share in the public lands. Probably the leaders cared more for equality with the patricians in the law courts, for rights of intermarriage, and for political power. Gradually the whole plebeian body, also, began to demand these things, because they found that whatever economic rights they won were of no value, so long as the laws were carried out only by patrician officers.

II. STEPS IN THE STRUGGLE.

A. TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS.

307. The First Secession of the Plebs.¹ — In ten chapters Livy gives a graphic story of the first clash between the orders. The account may be summarized briefly.

The plebs, driven to despair by the cruelty of patrician creditors, refuse to serve in a war against the Volscians, until the consul wins them over by freeing all debtors from prison. But when the army returns victorious, the other consul refuses to recognize his colleague's acts; he arrests the debtors again, and enforces the law with merciless cruelty. On a

¹ Two views exist as to the original uprising. The older and more common one holds that the plebeians revolted to escape being enslaved, almost as a class, for debt. The later holds that in so simple a society so much debt was impossible, and that the plebeians rose to secure protection against the arbitrary despotism of patrician magistrates in individual cases. See Mommsen (I, 345-346) for the first view; Ihne presents the second idea (*Early Rome*, 129, 141, 142, and *History*, I, 147-149).

renewal of the war, the betrayed plebs again decline to fight ; but finally Manius Valerius (of the great Valerian house "that loves the people well") is made dictator, and him they trust. Victory again follows ; but Valerius is unable to get the consent of the Senate to his proposed changes in the law. So the plebeian army, still in array outside the gates, rises in revolt and marches away to a hill across the Anio, some three miles from Rome, where, they declare, they will build a Rome of their own. This would have meant the conquest of both the old and new cities by neighboring foes ; so a compromise is patched up, and the plebs return from the "Sacred Mount."

308. The Tribunes and their Veto, 493 B.C. — Whether the details of the story of the secession are true, we do not know ; but the result is certain. The letter of the law was not changed, but the plebeians secured means to prevent its execution in any given case. Two plebeian *tribunes*, it was agreed, should be chosen each year. The person of these officers was declared inviolable, and a curse was invoked upon the man who should interfere with their acts. In order that they might protect the plebeians, they were given a portion of the consular veto. That is, they could stop any magistrate in any act of government, and so, whenever they saw fit, they could prevent the arrest or punishment of a plebeian. But this veto could be exercised *only within the city, and by the tribunes in person*.¹ Hence a tribune's door was left always unlocked, so that a plebeian in trouble might have instant admission.

309. Subsequent Growth of the Tribuneship. — In consequence of later disturbances, the number of tribunes was increased to five, and finally to ten, so as to afford more efficient protection. Their power, also, grew, until they came even to forbid acts like the putting of a vote in the centuries or in the Senate. Thus they could bring the whole government to a standstill.

"Absolute prohibition was in the most stern and abrupt fashion opposed to absolute command ; and the quarrel was settled (?) by recognizing and regulating the discord." — MOMMSEN, I, 354, 355.

¹ It is notable that this arrangement was not established by *law* but by a *treaty* between the two orders, as if they had been separate states. (See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 142, 143.)

Besides this power of impeding action in the government, the tribunes came to have a terrible judicial power. It seems probable that even before the treaty of the Sacred Mount the plebs had had their own chosen rulers to act in plebeian gatherings, as the consuls did in the Comitia of the Centuries, — proposing rules and impeaching offenders against them.¹ Now the plebeian tribunes came to accuse in this way the patricians also, — even consuls, — and to arrest and fine them, with appeal only to the Assembly of the plebeians, where patricians could expect little favor.

B. RISE OF THE PLEBEIAN ASSEMBLY.

310. Ancient Organization of the Plebeians. — It is plain that the plebeians must have possessed some such organization as has just been referred to, with regular meetings and officers, or they could never have waged the long constitutional struggle in so orderly a manner; but the matter is very obscure. Probably the organization was based upon certain local divisions called "tribes."

At some early date, the city and territory of Rome had been divided into twenty-one wards, or tribes,² for taxation, and for the military levy. In the absence of a complete organization in gentes, the plebs seem to have availed themselves of these local units. In some way, a plebeian "Assembly of Tribes" grew up and became a real governing body for the plebeians, though the patricians tried to refuse any recognition to its acts.³

¹ See Ihne, *History*, I, 183–187, or *Early Rome*, 143, 144.

² These local tribes had no connection with the three blood tribes. (Cf. the "tribes" of Cleisthenes, § 135.) This institution is attributed to Servius. Four of the tribes were within the city, and are shown on the map, page 266.

³ For conflicting views as to the original nature of the Assembly, see Ihne, *Early Rome*, 144–147, or *History*, I, 183–185, 206, 207, and Mommsen, I, 359, 360. It is probable that the patricians had the right to attend the Assembly of the Tribes, but that they did not care to do so at this time, when they could accomplish so much less in it than they could in the Assembly of Centuries.

311. This Plebeian Assembly wins Recognition in the State. — The plebeian tribunes of the “tribes” had now been put alongside the patrician consuls of the centuries. The next step was to set the plebeian Assembly alongside the mixed Centuriate Assembly.

The patricians seem to have provoked the struggle, by trying to control the election of tribunes, by bringing it into the Assembly of the Centuries and by endeavoring to prevent the plebeians from holding their separate meetings.

A bitter contest of twenty years was closed in 471, by the victory of the plebs. The tribune Publilius Volero secured the consent of the Senate to a decree known as the *Publilian Law*. This legalized the old plebeian organization. It guaranteed to the Assembly of Tribes the right to elect the tribunes and to pass decrees (*plebiscita*) which should have the force of law upon the plebeians.¹

312. The Result a Double State; Violence over Agrarian Questions.² — Thus the first struggle of the plebs for admission into the state had set up instead a double state — a plebeian state over against the patrician state, each with its own Assembly and leaders, with no arbiter between the two and no check upon civil war except mutual moderation.

The device was clumsy, and could not have been worked at all by a people of low political capacity. Even with the Romans, it led during the next few years to much violence. Street fights between the orders took place; consuls and leading patricians were driven into banishment; and the tribune *Genucius* was assassinated by patrician daggers.

During this period *Spurius Cassius*, the first patrician to dare take up the cause of the people, fell a victim to his order. He had served Rome gloriously in war and in diplomacy (§ 326, note). Now, as consul, he proposed a reform in the

¹ This power was soon to be extended so that the decrees of the plebeian Assembly should become equal to those of the *Comitia Centuriata* in all matters (see the *Horatian Law*, § 317, note).

² Mommsen, I, 354-361.

selfish patrician management of the public lands. The patricians raised the cry that he was trying to win popular favor so as to make himself tyrant.¹ The foolish plebeians allowed themselves to be frightened by the charge; they deserted their champion, and he was put to death.²

None the less, the plebeians made some small gains. Some colonies of poor citizens were established on the public lands, and, in 466, the Aventine district within the city was parceled out into building lots for landless plebeians.

C. THE DECEMVIRS.

313. The Plebs demand Written Laws. — In 462 the plebeians asked that the laws be written down, so that they might be known by all.³ This demand was furiously opposed by the patricians, but after a ten years' struggle the plebeians won. Both consuls and tribunes were set aside for a year; and the Assembly chose a Board of ten men to revise and write down the laws.

314. The Two Boards of Decemvirs. — From their number, ten, these men were known as *decemvirs*. During their year they were to govern the city as a *Board of dictators*. Both plebeians and patricians were eligible to the office, but in the first election (451 B.C.) the patricians secured all the places. The story now becomes obscure. It seems probable, however, that this patrician Board neglected to reduce the laws to writing. But the next year *Appius Claudius*, one of the first decemvirs, joined the plebeians and secured his own reelection, along with several plebeian colleagues.

¹ Under like conditions, two other citizens, *Spurius Maelius* and, later, *Manlius* (384 B.C.), who had saved the capitol from the Gauls, fell before like charges. Special reports should be assigned upon these men.

² According to one story, the father of *Spurius*, a proud patrician, put his son to death himself, in the right of his paternal authority. The father's power, however, did not permit this: it did not give the father control over the action of a son when the son was an officer of the state.

³ Compare with the Athenian demands in the time of Draco (§ 108).

315. The Twelve Tables. — At all events the laws did finally get published. They were written in short, crisp sentences, engraved on twelve stone tables, and were set up where all might read them. These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were the basis of all later Roman law. Like the first written laws at Athens, they were very severe, and were for the most part simply old customs reduced to writing. The new thing about them was that they were now known to all, and that they applied to plebeian and patrician alike.¹

316. The Patrician Attempt at a Counter-revolution. — Mean-time the patricians seem to have tried to prevent this work by violence. They put Claudius to death, as a traitor to their order. They then restored the consulship, but refused to restore the tribunes, — perhaps on the excuse that writing down the laws had made such officers unnecessary.

Later patrician inventions obscure all this, and represent the overthrow of Claudius as the work of a popular rising. Claudius, they said, seized the free maid *Virginia* as his slave girl; her father, Virginius, a popular officer, to save her from such shame, slew her with his own hand, and then called upon the army to avenge his wrongs; his comrades marched upon the tyrants and overthrew them.

The story of Virginia has become so famous that the student ought to know it. We cannot tell whether or not there is any truth in it. Possibly Claudius did put the cause of the people in danger by selfish tyranny, and gave the patricians a handle against him; but in any case we may be sure this was not the real cause of his overthrow. See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 175, or, more fully, *History*, I, 192-199.

317. Another Plebeian Secession and New Gains. — A popular revolt did take place, but it was directed, not at Claudius, but at the usurping patricians who had overthrown him and were trying to cheat the people out of their previous victory. Once more (449 B.C.), to secure their rights, the plebeians rose in

¹ On the Twelve Tables, read Mommsen, I, 364, or Tighe, 96-98. Study the extracts in Munro's *Source Book*, 54, 55.

arms and withdrew to the Sacred Hill across the Anio. The patricians were forced to yield. The tribunes were restored with enlarged powers,¹ and two new gains² were made by the people. (1) The old Valerian right of appeal (§ 295) was extended to plebeians; and (2) the Assembly of Tribes was reorganized (§ 318) and made a ruling Assembly of the Roman people. Thereafter its *plebiscites* bound patricians as well as plebeians; though of course, like the Centuriate Assembly, it was legally subject to the veto of the Senate.

318. The reorganized Comitia Tributa was soon to become the most important of the popular assemblies. At this time it was made to consist of all landowners, — patricians and plebeians. Each tribe voted as a unit, and, in determining its vote, each man within it had an equal voice, so that the plebeians held an overwhelming control.³

The plebeian state had now won an equal standing with the patrician state. The next work was to fuse the two into one state (§§ 319–324).

D. SOCIAL FUSION.

319. Mixed Marriages. — The plebeians used their new powers to win further victories. Four years after the recognition of the Assembly of Tribes, that Assembly decreed that plebeians should have the right to marry with patricians. At first the Senate refused to approve this plebiscite, but, by the threat of another secession, the point was carried.

From this time the two orders began to mix in social matters, and of course this prepared the way for political fusion.

¹ It was at this time that the tribunes were increased to ten, and were given seats just outside the Senate door, so that they could shout their veto upon any action by that body.

² These new gains were embodied in the *Valerio-Horatian Law* of 449, so called from the consuls of that year.

³ The old Tribal Assembly, of plebeians only, is known after this as the "Council of the Plebs": it contained all plebeians, landowners or not, but it ceased now to have any political importance.

Those patricians who had plebeian relatives were not likely to oppose bitterly the demands of that class for political honors. Still the final contest was a long one. In this same year (445 B.C.) the plebeians began an eighty-eight-year struggle for admission to the office of consul (§ 320 ff.).

E. ADMISSION TO THE CONSULATE.

320. Consular Tribunes and Censors. — In 445 the tribes voted that the people should be allowed to choose a plebeian for one of the consuls. The Senate refused to allow the “religious” office of consul to be “polluted,” but they offered a compromise. Accordingly it was decided to have no consuls in some years, but instead to elect *military tribunes with consular power*; and this office was to be open to both patricians and plebeians.

At the same time, with their old stronghold threatened, the patricians prepared an inner fortress for defense of their privileges. A new office, the *censorship*, was created, to take over the religious part of the consul’s duty and his most important powers. To this office, *only patricians* could be elected. Every fifth year two censors were chosen, with power to revise the lists of the citizens and of the Senate. By their simple order they could deprive any man of citizenship, or degrade a senator. They also exercised a general moral oversight over the state.¹

321. Patrician Maneuvers. — The patricians had not intended to surrender even the military powers of the consulship; and they now tried to snatch back with one hand what they had pretended to grant with the other. It had been left to the Senate to decide each year whether consuls or consular tribunes should be elected. The Senate used this authority to secure the

¹ On the censors, read Ihne, *Early Rome*, 184–189. Either censor, quite in accord with Roman genius, could veto action by the other. Their tremendous power was used with moderation and not to any considerable degree for party ends.

election of consuls (who of course had to be patricians) twenty times out of the next thirty-five years. And even when consular tribunes were chosen, the patrician influence in the Assembly of Centuries, together with their advantages in controlling the auspices,¹ kept that office for their own order every time for almost half a century.

322. The Licinian Rogations, 367 B.C. — In 400, 399, and 396, however, the plebeians won in the election of the consular tribunes, and thereafter they never lost ground. An invasion by the Gauls in 390 (§ 325) almost ruined Rome and thrust aside party conflict for a time; but in 377 the final campaign began. Under the wise leadership of the tribune *Licinius Stolo*, the whole body of plebeians united firmly on a group of measures. These were proposed to the Assembly by Licinius, and are known as the *Licinian Rogations*.

The three most important of these demands were:—

(1) that the office of consul should be restored, and that at least one consul each year should be a *plebeian*;

(2) that no citizen should hold more than 500 *jugera* of the public lands (an acre is nearly two *jugera*);

(3) that payment of debts might be postponed for three years, and that the interest already paid should be deducted from the amount of the debt.

The first measure was what the leaders, like Licinius, cared most for. The second and third secured the support of the masses. These measures, also, seem to have been wise and helpful. The one regarding debts had been made necessary by the distress that followed the invasion by the Gauls. The land acts were not acts of confiscation, from any point of view. Like the early attempt of Spurius Cassius (§ 312), they were a righteous effort to recover from wealthy patrician squatters what was legally and morally the property of all.

323. The Struggle and the Final Victory of the Plebs. — The proposal of these reforms was followed by ten years of bitter wrangling. Each year the plebeians reelected Licinius and

¹ Read Mommsen, I, 377.

passed the Rogations anew in the Assembly of the Tribes. Each time the Senate vetoed the measures. The tribunes, by their veto power, prevented the election of magistrates, and so left the state without any regular government.¹

At last the patricians tried to buy off the masses, by offering to yield on the matters of debts and lands if they would drop the demand regarding the consulship. But Licinius succeeded in holding his party together for the full program of reform; and, in 367, the Senate gave way and the Rogations became law.

324. Political Fusion completed, 367-300 B.C.—The long struggle was practically over, and the body of the patricians soon accepted the result with good grace. Just at first, to be sure, they tried again to save something from the wreck by creating a third, and patrician, consul—called *the praetor*—for supreme judicial control in the city.² But all such devices were in vain. Plebeian consuls could nominate other plebeian officers. Plebeians had already won admission to the quaestorship (§ 295). Now they secured the office of dictator in 356, of censor in 351, and of praetor in 337. In 300 even the sacred colleges of pontiffs and augurs were thrown open to them.

Appointments to the Senate were now commonly made from those who had held office, and so *that body, also, gradually became plebeian*. By the year 300, the old distinction between patricians and plebeians had practically died out, and, in political matters at least, it is no more heard of, except that tribunes could not be chosen from families of patrician descent.

¹ During the peril of a foreign attack, however, they withdrew from this extreme ground and permitted consuls to be chosen. Read Livy's account of the long contest (Munro's *Source Book*, 57-59).

² The consul had had three functions, religious, civil, and military. As the plebs gained ground, the patricians first gave the religious duties to the censor, and now the chief civil powers to the praetor, intending to share with the plebs only the military office.

325. A Catchword Review of the Struggle of Classes. — Tribunes of the Plebs (after secession to the Sacred Mount), 493: veto power and judicial attacks upon patrician leaders.

Plebeian Assembly of Tribes: plebiscites binding in law upon the plebs, 471.

Violence between the patrician and the plebeian states: Genucius, Spurius Cassius; agrarian gains for plebeians.

Struggle for written laws, 462-449: decemvirs, 451; Appius Claudius; the Twelve Tables; patrician counter-revolution; secession of the plebs; tribunes restored; right of appeal for plebeians; Assembly of Tribes re-organized (all landowners) and given equality with Centuriate Assembly.

Mixed marriages, 445, secured by threat of another secession: social fusion.

Political fusion (struggle for the consulate, 445-367): consular tribunes and censors; patrician maneuvers; gradual plebeian gains; Licinian Rogations (consulship, public lands, debts); a ten-years' struggle; tribunes paralyze the state; plebeian victory, 367, followed by rapid fusion of the two orders.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Mommsen, I, 341-394; Ihne, *Early Rome*, 135-151, 165-190, and *History*, 127-152, 175-226, 255-262, 302-334; How and Leigh, 52-58, 65-77, 91-94. Pelham (*Outlines of Roman History*, 54-67) presents in compact form a somewhat different view of the struggle of classes from that given in this volume.

CHAPTER IV.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 367-266 B.C.

I. PROGRESS BEFORE 367 B.C.

326. Gains under the Kings, and the Reaction to 449 B.C. — The story of Rome's early wars is full of patriotic legends,¹ but the general trend of her growth is fairly clear. Under the kings she had conquered widely; but, after 510, the Latin towns became independent again and much territory also was seized by the Etruscans. For the next sixty years Rome fought for life. Etruscan, Volscian, and Sabine armies often appeared under her very walls, and many times the peril was made more deadly by the fierce conflict of classes within the city.

In 493, it is true, the Latin League was united to Rome, by treaty,² as an equal ally, and so a bulwark was provided against the Volscians (map, page 269). But the main danger was in the Etruscans, and from this enemy Rome was saved, mainly, by outside events. Just at this time the Gauls of the north broke the power of Etruria on land, and the tyrants of Syracuse (§ 218) shattered her superiority on the sea.

327. The Period 449-367: Slow Gains; the Brief Interruption by the Gauls. — After the reforms of the period of the decemvirs, when the bitterest internal dissensions were past, Rome began to make steady gains. By slow degrees she became again the mistress of the Latin League; and, in 396, after

¹ Special reports: (1) the legend of Coriolanus and the modern criticism; (2) Cincinnatus; (3) Camillus; (4) A Roman "triumph" (see especially Munro's *Source Book*, 38-40).

² This important treaty is said to have been the work of Spurius Cassius (§ 312).

fourteen long wars, she finally destroyed *Veii*,¹ a dangerous rival, only a few hours' walk distant, in Etruria.

Six years later the city was again for a time in danger of utter destruction. In 390, a horde of Gauls, who had overrun Etruria, defeated the Roman army in the battle of the *Allia*, twelve miles from the walls, and cut it off from the city. Fortunately, the barbarians squandered three days in pillage, and so gave time to save Rome. The sacred fire was hastily removed; the helpless inhabitants fled; and a small garrison, under the soldier *Marcus Manlius*, garrisoned the Capitoline citadel.

The Gauls sacked the rest of the city and held it seven months. But their host was ravaged by the deadly malaria of the Roman plain (which has more than once been Rome's best protection); they had little skill or patience for a regular siege; and finally they withdrew on the payment of a ransom.² Rome was left free to complete her work.

II. THE REAL ADVANCE, 367-266 B.C.

328. United Rome and her Rapid Growth. — Rome recovered rapidly from the Gallic conquest; and the slow growth of territory up to this time contrasts strikingly with the swift advance that was to come in the next hundred years. The difference was due mainly to the difference in internal conditions. *The long strife of classes closed in 367 B.C. (§ 323). The process of amalgamation that had originally fused the three separate hill towns into the patrician state had at length fused this patrician and the newer plebeian state into one Roman people. Now this united Rome turned to her proper work of uniting Italy.*

¹ Rome began at Veii the merciless policy which she was to show toward many rival capitals in time to come, by exterminating the population and laying waste the site of the city.

² Special reports: the sack of the city; the geese of the capitol; Brennus, the Gallic chief, and his sword at the scales; the later fiction of the Roman victory. This sack by the Gauls is the event referred to in § 322.

329. Latium and Southern Etruria.—The Latin towns had seized the opportunity of the Gallic invasion to throw off Roman leadership. War followed between Rome and the Latins. Several cities were captured, and some of them were incorporated bodily in the Roman state. For all the rest, the old league was restored in a new form. Rome came out of the struggle the acknowledged mistress of Latium. The southern half of Etruria, too, was soon annexed to the territory of Rome; and on both north and south the new acquisitions were garrisoned by Roman colonies.

330. The Winning of Campania, 343 B.C.—Rome was now recognized as the natural champion of the other lowland civilized states against the ruder tribes of the mountains. From this fact came her next expansion. Some time before, the *hill-Samnites* had reconquered the fertile plains of Campania from Etruscans and Greeks. They had themselves, however, taken on the lowland civilization, and they were now attacked by the other Samnites of the mountains. In these straits the men of Campania appealed to Rome for aid. Rome repulsed the mountain tribes; and, in return, the cities of the Campanian plain became her tributaries.

331. The Last Latin Revolt, 338 B.C.—Now that the Samnites were no longer dangerous, the Latins, ill content with the recent settlement of their affairs (§ 329), once more broke into revolt. This led to the great *Latin War of 338 B.C.* In the end the rising was crushed and the Latin League dissolved. Its public land became Roman. Some of its cities were brought into the Roman state,—their inhabitants being listed as citizens in the Roman “tribes.” All the remaining cities were bound to Rome as subjects, each by its separate treaty, and they were allowed no intercourse with each other (except through Rome) either in politics or in trade.

332. The Last Struggle for Supremacy in Central Italy: the Samnite Wars.—The leadership of central Italy now lay between Rome, the great city-state of the lowlands, and the rude Samnite tribes, which were spread widely over the

southern Apennines. The decisive struggle between the two began in 326, and lasted, with brief truces, to 290. The combatants were both warlike, and they were not unequally matched. The Samnites trusted partly for defense to their mountain fastnesses; and Rome found safety in the chains of fortress colonies she had been building (§ 336 *a*).

Early in the war (321 B.C.) the Samnites won an overwhelming victory. The whole Roman army was entrapped at the *Caudine Forks* in a narrow pass between two precipices and was forced to surrender. The Samnite leader, *Pontius*, made a treaty with the consuls by which the Romans were to withdraw all their posts from Samnium and to stop the war. He then let the captives go, after sending them "under the yoke."¹ The fruits of the victory, however, were lost, because the Romans refused to abide by the treaty.

According to the Roman story, the Senate declared that only the Roman Assembly, not the consuls alone, had power to make such a treaty. In place of their rescued army, they delivered to the Samnites the two consuls, naked and in chains, saying, through the herald: "These men have wronged you by promising, without authority, to make a treaty with you. Therefore we hand them over to you." Then one of the consuls (who is said to have suggested the whole plan) pushed against the Roman herald, and said, "I am now a Samnite, and, by striking the Roman herald, I have given the Romans the right to make war upon the Samnites." The Romans pretended that these forms released them from all obligation, and resumed the war.

Then the Samnites built up a great alliance, which soon came to count nearly all the peoples of Italy, together with the Cisalpine Gauls. But, using to the full the advantage of her central position (§ 263), Rome beat these foes in detail; and at the close of the long conflict (290 B.C.) she had become mistress of all the true peninsula, except the Greek cities of the south.

¹ This humiliation consisted in obliging the captives to come forth one by one, clad only in shirts, and pass, with bowed head, between two upright spears upon which rested a third.

333. Magna Graecia: the War with Pyrrhus.—Ten years later began the last great war for territory in Italy. The Greek cities at this moment were harassed by neighboring mountaineers, and they called in Roman aid, as Campania had done sixty years before. Thus Roman lordship became established throughout the south, except in Tarentum. That great city wished to keep her independence, and sought help from *Pyrrhus*, the chivalrous king of Epirus.

Pyrrhus was one of the most remarkable of the Greek military adventurers who arose after the death of Alexander. He had come to Italy with a great armament and with great designs. He hoped to unite the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and then to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellenes in the West. That is, he planned to play in western Hellas and in Africa the part already played by Alexander in eastern Hellas and in Asia.

Pyrrhus knew little of Rome; but at the call of Tarentum he found himself engaged as a Hellenic champion with this new power. He won some victories, chiefly through his elephants, which the Romans had never before encountered. Then most of southern Italy deserted Rome to join him; but,



COIN OF PYRRHUS, struck in Sicily.

anxious to carry out his wider plans, he offered a favorable peace. Under the leadership of an aged and blind senator, *Appius Claudius*, defeated Rome answered haughtily

that she would treat with no invader *while he stood upon Italian soil*. Pyrrhus chafed at the delay, and finally hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back, and a great Roman victory at *Beneventum* (275 B.C.) ruined his dream of empire and

made Rome mistress of the Italy whose sovereignty she had just claimed so resolutely. By 269, the last resistance from the Greek cities had ceased; and then, in 266, Rome rounded off her work by the conquest of that part of Cisalpine Gaul which lay south of the Po.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best compact treatment of the conquest of Italy is by Pelham, 68-97. Detailed accounts are given in Mommsen, and especially in Ihne. Students should read an excellent summary of Rome's method in Smith's *Rome and Carthage*, 27.

EXERCISE. — (1) Review the growth of Rome, 510-266 B.C. by catch-words, with the important dates. (2) Extend the list of terms for rapid explanation from chapters i-iv, especially from chapter iii.

CHAPTER V.

UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE.

This chapter breaks into the story of Roman expansion. That story will be continued in chapter vi. At this point it is necessary to understand the character of the united Italy into which Rome had grown. All Italians now were either members of the *Roman state proper* or *subjects* of that state. Each of these classes, with its subdivisions, will be described. Divisions I and II in particular, treat of matters hard for young readers to grasp, and should be read over in class before students are required to prepare them for recitation.

I. CLASSES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES.

A. THE ROMAN STATE.

334. Extent.—The territory of Rome comprised one third of Italy, and her citizens counted about two hundred and ninety thousand of the million adult males.¹ This meant a total Roman population of nearly one and a half million.

335. Rights and Obligations of Citizens.—The important rights of citizens were:—

a. Private: (1) the right to acquire property, under the protection of the Roman law, in any of Rome's possessions (*commercium*); and (2) the right of intermarriage in any Roman or subject community (*connubium*).

b. Public: (1) the right to vote in the Assembly of Tribes; (2) eligibility to any office; and (3) appeal to the Assembly if condemned to death or to bodily punishment.

¹ This does not include the slaves, of whom, however, there were not yet a large number in Italy.

By way of burdens, the citizens furnished half the army of Italy, and paid all the *direct* taxes.

336. Classes of Citizens.—It had come to pass that the majority of Roman citizens did not live at Rome. Large parts of Latium and of Etruria and Campania had become “suburbs” of Rome (although in the midst even of these settlements there were many subject communities); and other towns of Roman citizens were found in distant parts of Italy. Indeed, mainly because of *difference in place of residence*, the citizens fall into three classes, (1) the inhabitants of *Rome itself*, (2) members of *Roman colonies*, and (3) members of *Roman municipia*. The colonies and municipia need further explanation.

a. From an early date (§ 272) Rome had planted colonies of her citizens about the central city as military posts. The colonists kept *all the rights of citizens*. Each colony had control over its *local* affairs in an Assembly of its own; but in order to vote upon matters that concerned the state the colonists had to come to Rome at the meeting of the Assembly there. This of course was usually impossible. *Representative government had not been worked out; and hence it was not possible for the people of a large state to remain really equal in political opportunity.*

b. While Rome ruled parts of her conquests as subject communities, there were also many conquered towns which she *incorporated into the state in full equality*. This had become the case with most of the Latin cities, with the Sabine towns, and with some other communities.

A town so annexed to the Roman state was called a *municipium*. Like a Roman colony, the inhabitants of a *municipium* managed their own local affairs, and, by coming to Rome, they could vote in the Assembly of the Tribes upon all Roman and imperial questions. They had also all the other rights of citizens. The *municipia* and the colonies differed chiefly in the matter of origin.¹

¹ Besides the colonies and *municipia*, there were also many small hamlets of Roman citizens settled upon the public lands in distant parts of Italy.

There was also a class of inferior municipia, with the private, but not the public, rights of Romans. This class, however, gradually disappeared. They either rose into full municipia or, in punishment for offences, were degraded into praefectures (§ 340).

The *municipia* represent a political advance, — a new contribution to empire-making. Athens had had cleruchies corresponding to the Roman colonies (§§ 118, 170), but she had never learned how to give citizenship to conquered states. At a later date Rome extended the principle to distant parts of Italy, and finally even more widely.

337. Organization in "Tribes." — To suit this expansion of the state, the twenty-one Roman "tribes" (§ 310) were increased gradually to thirty-five, — four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. At first these were really divisions of territory, and a man changed his "tribe" if he changed his residence. At the point we have reached, however, this was no longer true. The tribes had become conventional units. A man, once enrolled in a given tribe, remained a member, no matter where he lived, and his son after him.

Thus a tribe came to contain great numbers of citizens who had never lived within its territorial limits. As new communities were given citizenship, they were enrolled in the old thirty-five tribes, — sometimes whole new municipia, far apart, in the same tribe. Each tribe kept its equal vote in the Assembly.¹

B. THE SUBJECTS.

338. Three Classes of Subjects. — Rome was not yet ready to give up the idea of a city-state; and so, beyond a certain limit, all new acquisitions of territory were necessarily reduced to some form of subjection. Outside the Roman state was subject-Italy, in three main classes, *Latin Colonies*, *Praefectures*, and "*Allies*."

339. The Latin Colonies. — Highest in privilege among the subjects stood the Latins. This name did not apply now to

¹ On the vexed questions as to the tribes, advanced students may consult Mommsen, I, 395-400; Ihne, I, 448, 449; or *Early Rome*, 145-148 and 177-178.

the old Latin towns (nearly all of which had become municipia), but to a new kind of colonies sent out by Rome after 338, far beyond Latium.

Because of the distance, the colonists were not granted citizenship, as were the older *Roman colonies*, but only the *Latin right*, based on the rights enjoyed by the towns of the Latin Confederacy under the ancient alliance with Rome (§ 274, close, note). That is, their citizens had the *private rights* of Romans; and they might acquire full *public rights* also, and become Roman citizens in all respects, by removing to Rome and enrolling in one of the tribes. At first this removal was permitted to any member of a Latin colony who left a son in his own city to represent him; but in the later colonies the privilege was restricted to those who had held some magistracy in the colony. *In local affairs*, like the Roman Colonies and the Municipia, *the Latin Colonies had full self-government*.¹

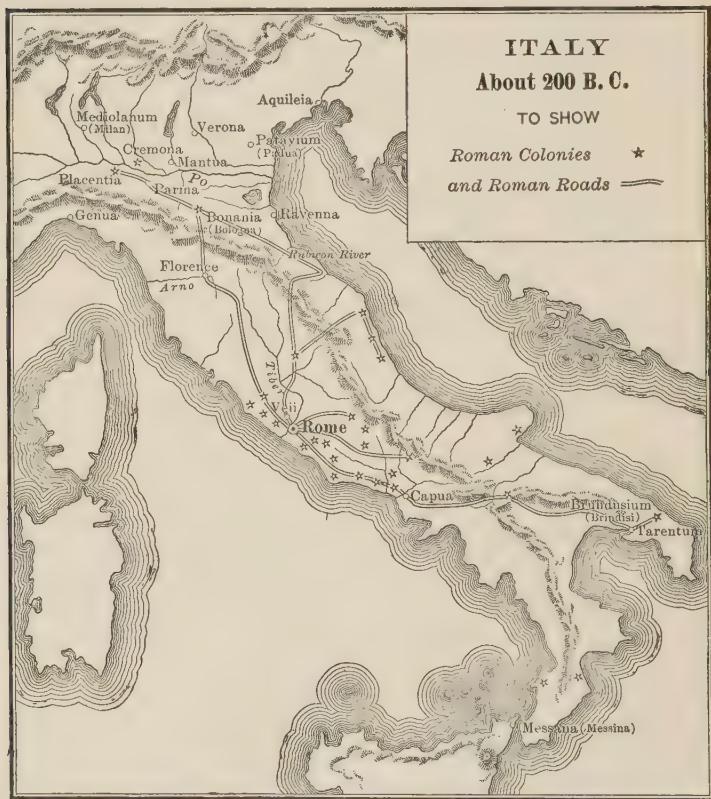
There were thirty-five Latin colonies before the Carthaginian invasion of Italy. They numbered originally from three hundred to six thousand male colonists each, and they grew from the populations about them. They are notable in three respects.

a. They were a chief instrument in *Romanizing Italy*, in language and institutions. Inscriptions show that they copied the Roman city constitution, even to such names as consuls and tribunes.

b. From a military point of view, like the Roman colonies, they were *garrisons*, protecting the distant parts of the peninsula against revolt or invasion. An enemy could rarely assail their walls successfully; and he was rash indeed to pass on, leaving them to fall upon his rear.

¹ The poorer landless citizens of Rome had little political power (§§ 286, 318, note, and 346 a). Thus they could well afford the slight sacrifice of citizenship that came from joining a Latin colony, in return for the gain they secured as the aristocracy of a new settlement.

c. Politically, they added a new element of *elasticity* to the rigid system of citizenship common in ancient states. They formed a link *between full citizens and permanent subjects*.



340. The class of praefectures was small and the least enviable. It consisted of a few conquered towns too distant to permit incorporation in the city and too deep offenders to warrant them in asking either the "Latin right" or "alliance." They bore all the burdens of Roman citizenship, and some of them

had part of the *private rights*, and so are easily confused with "inferior municipia" (336 *b*); but they alone of all cities in Italy had their government administered for them by *prefects* sent out from Rome.

341. The Italian "Allies." — Most numerous of all the inhabitants of Italy, and next to the Latins in privilege, stood the mass of subject Greeks, Italians, and Etruscans, under the general name of *Italian Allies*. These cities, it is true, differed greatly in condition, according to their respective treaties with Rome. None of them, however, had either the private or public rights of Romans, and they were *isolated jealously one from another*. In general, however, they bore few burdens and enjoyed local freedom and Roman protection.

C. ROME AND HER SUBJECTS: A SUMMARY.

(*A Confederacy under a Queen-city.*)

342. Advantages and Restrictions of the Subjects. — No one of the subject cities had any one of the three great rights of making war, concluding treaties, or coining money. With the exception of one small class they did retain nearly complete self-government in other matters. Each kept its own Assembly, Senate, and magistrates; and, in general, each retained its own law and custom. They paid no tribute, except to provide their small share of troops for war.

Thus, where Rome refused to confer citizenship, she did, with rare insight and magnanimity, lessen burdens and leave local freedom. At the same time she bestowed order, tranquillity, and prosperity. The calamities of great wars strike our imagination; but they cause infinitely less suffering than the everlasting petty wars of neighbors, with pillage and slaughter diffused everywhere. Roman supremacy put a stop to these endless and wasting feuds. Moreover, so far as Italy was concerned, the theater of conflict, even in Rome's great wars, was thenceforth to be mostly beyond her borders.

343. Power and Policy of Rome.—The citizens enrolled in the thirty-five Roman tribes were the rulers of Italy. None others possessed any of the imperial power. They, or their officers, decided upon war and peace, made treaties, issued the only coinage permitted, and fixed the number of soldiers which the subject cities must furnish for war.



VIEW OF THE APPIAN WAY TO-DAY, WITH RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT OF CLAUDIUS IN THE DISTANCE. (The Aqueduct was carried for long distances on arches. It was built nearly four centuries later than the Appian Way.)

It should be noted that there are two phases of the Roman genius for rule,—one admirable and the other at least effective.

a. Incorporation and Tolerance. Rome grew strong first by a wise and generous *incorporation* of her conquests. With this strength, she won wider physical victories. And over her subjects she won also spiritual dominion by her intelligence, justice, and firmness, and especially by a marvelous *toleration* for local customs and rights.

b. Jealousy and Isolation. At the same time, she strictly *isolated* the subject communities from one another. She dissolved all tribal confederacies; she took skillful advantage of the grades of inferiority that she had created among her dependents *to foment jealousies* and to play off one class of communities against another. Likewise, within each city, she set class against class, on the whole favoring an aristocratic organization. In politics as in war, the policy of her statesmen was “*Divide and conquer.*”

Thus the rule of Rome in Italy was not an absolutism, as it was to be later over more distant conquests. The whole Italian stock had become consolidated under a leading city. In form, and to a great degree in fact, Italy was a confederacy; but it was a confederacy *with all the connecting lines radiating from Rome*. The allies had no connection with each other except through the head city. Even the physical ties—the famous roads that marked her dominion and strengthened it—“all led to Rome.”

344. Roman Roads: Bonds of Union.—Rome began her system of magnificent roads in 312 B.C. by the *Via Appia* to the new possessions in Campania. This was the work of the censor Appius Claudius (§ 346 *a*). Afterward all Italy, and then the growing empire outside Italy, was traversed by a network of such roads. Nothing was permitted to obstruct their course. Mountains were tunneled; rivers were bridged; marshes were spanned for miles by viaducts of masonry. The roads were smoothly paved with huge slabs, over some two feet of gravel; and they made the best means of communication the world was to see until the time of railroads. They were so carefully constructed, too, that their remains, in good condition to-day, still “mark the lands where Rome has ruled.” They were designed for military purposes; but they helped other intercourse and bound Italy together socially. (Cf. § 64, for Persian Roads.)

FOR FURTHER READING.—Ihne, I, 537–552; Mommsen, II, 46–62; Pelham, 97–107.

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN STATE; THE PERFECTED REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION.

A. GROWTH OF A NEW ARISTOCRACY.¹

345. The "Nobles." — No sooner had the old distinction between plebeian and patrician faded away, than there began to grow up a new aristocracy of mixed plebeian and patrician families. These new aristocrats were known as the nobles, or the *senatorial class*. They were the descendants of office holders. It came to pass that a man was considered "noble" if any ancestor had been a *curule officer*, — censor, consul, praetor, dictator, aedile (§ 347).

The distinction was at first merely social, and it always remained without recognition in law. Before 300, however, the nobles began to be jealous of the admission of "new men" to their ranks; and by their influence they soon controlled nearly all elections in favor of members of their own order. Thus they became a *hereditary oligarchy of a few hundred families*.

B. THE POLITICAL MACHINERY AND ITS WORKING.

346. The Assemblies: Apparent Growth toward Democracy. — The Assemblies by curias, by centuries, and by tribes *continued to exist side by side*; but the center of gravity shifted again, — as once before from the curias to the centuries, so now from the centuries to the tribes. The political function of the Curiate Assembly had become purely formal in very early times (§ 287). The Centuriate Assembly continued to elect consuls, censors, and praetors; but its law-making power and the choice of all other officers passed to the *Comitia Tributa* (§ 318).

Moreover, during the century between the Licinian Rogations and the war with Pyrrhus, three or four legal reforms were adopted, to make the political Assemblies more powerful and more democratic.

¹ Pelham, 170-172, and Mommsen, III, 3-18.

a. In 312, a reforming censor, Appius Claudius, enrolled the landless citizens in the tribes. Up to this time, only landholders had a voice there (§ 318). Appius carried this extension of the franchise unconstitutionally, in defiance of the veto of his colleague. The aristocratic party did not venture to undo the act, but they did modify it: a few years later another censor put all the landless class into the four city tribes alone, so that the city poor might not outvote the rural landowners. This still left, however, a marked democratic gain.

b. About the same time a complicated change took place in the Centuriate Assembly, by which each of the *five classes* secured an equal voice, and wealth was deprived of most of its older supremacy.

c. In 287, after some dissension and a threatened secession, the *Hortensian Law* took from the Senate its veto upon the *plebiscites of the tribes*. Somewhat earlier the Senate had lost all veto over the elections in the centuries.

These changes made Rome a democracy in law; but in practice they were more than counterbalanced by the aristocratic control of the Senate and of the curule offices (§§ 347, 348).

347. The Administrative Officers.¹—The officers of chief dignity in Rome were as follows, from least to greatest:—

Aediles (four), with oversight over police and public works;

Praetors (two), with the chief judicial power;

Consuls (two), commanders in war and leaders in foreign policy;

Censors (two), § 320;

Dictator (one), in critical times only (§ 292).

These five were called *curule offices*, because the holders, dividing among them the old royal power, kept the right to use the curule chair—the ivory throne of the old kings. There were also the *inferior aediles*, the *quaestors* (in charge of the

¹ Mommsen, I, 400-407; Pelham, 103-107.

treasury and with some judicial power), and the *tribunes*. This last office, though less in dignity than the curule offices, was perhaps most important of all. The tribune's old duties were gone, but he had become the political leader of the *Comitia Tributa*,—as the consul was of the less important *Comitia Centuriata*.

Except the censor and dictator, these officers held authority for only one year, but they exercised tremendous power. The magistrate still called and adjourned Assemblies as he liked; he alone could put proposals before them; and he controlled debate and amendment.

348. The Senate¹ the Guiding Force in the Roman Government.—Indirectly, the Senate had been made elective. The censors were required to fill vacancies in that body first from those who had held curule offices, and ordinarily this left them little discretion. The senatorial veto upon the Assemblies, too, had been taken away. Thus, so far as written law was concerned, the Senate was only an advisory body.

None the less it was really the ruling body in the state. It contained the wisdom and experience of Rome. The pressure of constant and dangerous wars, and the growing complexity of foreign relations even in peace, made it inevitable that this far-seeing, compact, experienced body should assume authority which in theory belonged to the clumsy, inexperienced Assembly. "Rome," says Ihne, "became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms;" or, as Mommsen puts it, "While the burgesses [citizens] acquired the semblance, the Senate acquired the substance, of power."

As the magistrate controlled the Assemblies, so the Senate controlled the magistrate. No consul would think of bringing a law before the people without the approval of the Senate (so that indirectly that body, rather than the Assembly, had become the real legislature). No officer would draw money from the treasury without its consent. It declared and man-

¹ Read Mommsen, I, 406-412, or Pelham, 159-167.

aged wars. It received ambassadors and made alliances. And certainly for over a hundred years, by its sagacity and energy, this "assembly of kings" justified its usurpation, earning Mommsen's epithet,—"the foremost political corporation of all time."

C. SUMMARY.

349. Democratic Theory and Aristocratic Practice.—In theory the Democracy was supreme through its popular Assemblies. In practice the Aristocrats controlled the government through their monopoly of the curule offices and of the all-directing Senate.

This condition began before the Pyrrhic War, or about 300 B.C., and it lasted nearly three hundred years. During the first part of this time (until about 200 B.C.) the rule of the nobles, though marked sometimes by a narrow class spirit, was patriotic, vigorous, and beneficent. After the year 200, it became both weak and selfish. Then power slipped from the incapable Aristocracy into the hands of military chiefs,—the fore-runners of the Empire (§ 432 ff.).

FOR FURTHER READING ON DIVISIONS I AND II.—Polybius describes the Roman constitution as he saw it about 150 B.C. Extracts from Polybius are given in Munro's *Source Book*, 47-52. Modern authorities have been referred to in the footnotes.

III. SOCIETY IN ROME AND ITALY.

350. Economic.—From 367 to about 200 is the period of greatest Roman vigor. The old distinction between patrician and plebeian had died out. A new aristocracy, it is true, was growing up, and there was soon to come a struggle between rich and poor, but this had not yet begun. The rapid gains of territory made it possible to relieve the poor by grants of land and by sending out colonies. The Roman people, in the main, were still yeoman-farmers, who worked hard and lived plainly.

There were few citizens of great wealth or in extreme poverty. Copper was the only coinage until the Pyrrhic War; and even later a senator was struck from the list because he

owned ten pounds of silver plate. The legend of the patrician *Cincinnatus*¹ of the fifth century (called from the plow on his four-acre farm to become dictator and save Rome from the Aequians, and returning to the plow again in sixteen days) is more than matched by the sober history of *Manius Curio*, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus.

This great Roman was a Sabine peasant and a proud aristocrat. Plutarch tells us that, though he had "triumphed" thrice, he continued to live in a cottage on a little four-acre plot which he tilled with his own hands. Here the Samnite ambassadors found him dressing turnips in the chimney corner when they came to offer him a large present of gold. Curio refused the gift: "A man," said he, "who can be content with this supper hath no need of gold; and I count it glory, not to possess wealth, but to rule those who do."

351. Moral Character and Ideals. — Still, it is cheap moralizing to point out the barbaric virtues of a rude society in comparison with the luxury of refined times, and omit more important contrasts. Early Rome has come in for much such doubtful praise, but the real picture is by no means without shadows. The Roman was abstemious, haughty, obedient to law, self-controlled. His ideal was a man of iron will and stern discipline, devoted to the state, contemptuous of luxury, of suffering, and even of human sympathy if it conflicted with his duty to Rome. His model was still the first consul, Brutus, who in legend sent his guilty sons to the block unmoved;² and the great Latin war (338 B.C.) furnished a historical consul, *Manlius*, who, as Livy tells us, gloomily executed his gallant son for a glorious act of insubordination.³

With such men for her heroes, it is not strange that Rome made some peculiar boasts. For instance, the noble Samnite, Pontius, the victor of Caudine Forks, had magnanimously spared the Roman army; but when he became prisoner in turn, Rome saw only cause for pride in basely dragging him through

¹ § 326, note.

² Special report.

³ Special report.

the city in a triumph,¹ and then starving him to death in a dungeon. The Romans were coarse, cruel, and rapacious, as well as lofty-minded, brave, and obedient.

352. The Reaction of Magna Graecia upon Rome. — In manners and in morals Rome was a fair type of the Italians proper. The Etruscans and Greeks were softer and more luxurious, with more abject poverty among the masses.

After the war with Pyrrhus, the connection with Magna Graecia introduced Greek culture into Roman society, and wealth and luxury began to appear. At first the Romans as a whole did not show to advantage under the change. Too often it seemed only to veneer their native coarseness and brutality. At the same time, with the better minds, it did soften and refine character into a more lovable type than Italy had so far seen; and, from this time, Greek art and thought more and more worked upon Roman society.

IV. THE ARMY.

353. The Flexible Legion. — The instrument with which the Roman state conquered the world can best be surveyed at this point, although the changes to be noted in § 356 took place somewhat later.

The Roman army under the kings was similar to the old Dorian organization. In Italy, as in Greece, the "knights" of earlier times had given way to a dense hoplite array, usually eight deep. In Greece the next step was to deepen and close the ranks still further into the massive Theban and Macedonian phalanx. In Italy, instead, they were broken up into three successive lines, and each line was divided further into small companies. The companies were usually six men deep with twenty in the front rank; and between each two companies there was a space equal to the front of a company.

¹ Appian describes a Roman "triumph" in a passage quoted in Munro's *Source Book*, 38-40.

bayonet). Flexibility, individuality, and constancy took the place of the collective lance thrust of the unwieldy phalanx.¹

The legion numbered about five thousand, and was made up of Roman citizens. Each legion was accompanied by about five thousand men from the Allies. These *auxiliaries* served on the wings of the legion as light-armed troops, and they furnished also whatever cavalry the army had. The strength of the Roman army, however, lay in the infantry and especially in the legions.

354. The Roman camp was characteristic of a people whose colonies were garrisons. Where the army encamped — even if for only a single night — there grew up in an hour a fortified city, with earth walls and regular streets.² This system allowed the Romans often “to conquer by sitting still,” declining or giving battle at their own option; while, too, when they did fight, they did so “under the walls of their city,” with a fortified and guarded refuge in their rear.

355. Discipline.³ — The terrible discipline of early times remained. Without trial, the general could scourge or behead any man serving in his camp. Still more fearful was the practice of *decimating* a faulty corps (putting to death every tenth man).

356. Changes with Extension of Service: a Professional Army; Proconsuls. — Rome was now to begin a long series of great wars, waged, for the most part, outside Italy. Great changes resulted in the army. Service with the legions was still the highest duty of the citizen, and each man between the ages of seventeen and forty-six was liable to active duty. But, along-

¹ The two great fighting instruments, legion and phalanx, were not to come into final conflict until after 200 B.C. Meantime they remained supreme in the East and West respectively.

² Special report: the importance of these camps as the sites and foundation plans of cities over Europe, as at Chester (*Castra*), in England.

³ An interesting extract from Polybius is given in Munro's *Source Book*, 28, 29. Polybius was a Greek writer who lived long in Italy in the second century, B.C. For an outline of his life, see Munro's *Source Book*, 245, 246.

side this citizen-army, there was to grow up a *professional army*. New citizen legions were raised each year for the summer campaigns, as before, though more and more, even in these legions, the officers were veterans and were becoming a professional class; but the legions sent to Sicily, Spain, or Africa were kept under arms sometimes for many years.¹

Such facts led to another change, with important political consequences. To call home a consul each year from an unfinished campaign in these distant wars had become intolerably wasteful. The remedy was found in prolonging the commander's term, under the title of *proconsul*. This office was destined to become the strongest force in the Republic and a chief step toward the coming Empire.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Mommsen, I, 394–412, and II, 47–95 (also, though less important, *ib.* 96–128); Ihne, I, 428–451 and 537–575; Tighe, ch. vii; Pelham, 96–106; Granrud, *Roman Constitutional History*, 86–121.

EXERCISE. — The list of terms for drill and explanations should be much enlarged from this chapter.

¹ In particular, the long struggle in Spain after the close of the War with Hannibal (§ 385) operated in this way. Some twenty thousand soldiers were required for that province each year for half a century. There soon grew up a practice of settling such veterans, upon the expiration of their service, in military colonies in the provinces where they had served—the lands thus given them being regarded as a kind of service pension. In this way, communities of Roman citizens were to be spread over the provinces, *to Italianize the world*, as a like system of colonization had already Romanized Italy.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WINNING OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN, 264-146 B.C.

I. THE RIVALS—ITALY AND CARTHAGE.

357. Italy in 264 B.C. one of Five Great Mediterranean States.

—When Rome completed the union of Italy, in 266 (§ 333), Alexander the Great had been dead nearly fifty years. The long Wars of the Succession had closed, and the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean world was divided between the three great Greek kingdoms, Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia, with their numerous satellites (§§ 231-234). In the western Mediterranean, Carthage held undisputed sway. Now, between the three powers of the East and the single mistress of the West stood forth a new state, Roman Italy, destined to absorb them all.

The struggle for supremacy between these five Mediterranean powers filled the next hundred and twenty years. The first half of the period went to Roman conquests in the West (cf. § 257), at the expense of Carthage.

358. Carthage the Natural Rival of Rome in the West. — Carthage and Rome had been allied, just before, against Pyrrhus, their common enemy. But that gallant adventurer had seen that they were natural rivals; and, as he abandoned the West, he exclaimed longingly, "How fair a battle-field we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians!" In less than ten years the hundred-year conflict began.

Carthage¹ was an ancient Phoenician colony on the finest

¹ An excellent treatment of Carthage is given in Mommsen, bk. iii, ch. i. A more favorable view is found in Ihne, II, 3-21. See also Polybius, bk. i, chs. li-lvi.

harbor in North Africa. Her government, in form, was a republic, somewhat like Rome, but in reality it was a narrow oligarchy controlled by a few wealthy families. Carthage was now at the height of her power. Polybius called her the richest city in the world. To her old naval supremacy she



CARTHAGINIAN COIN STRUCK IN SICILY. — Head of Persephone.



COIN OF HIERO II OF SYRACUSE.

(Note the greater delicacy of the Greek engraving.)

had added a vast land empire, including North Africa,¹ Sardinia, Corsica, half of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. The western Mediterranean she regarded as a Punic² Lake; foreign sailors caught trespassing there were cast into the sea.

¹ In Africa alone Carthage ruled three hundred cities, and her territory merged into the desert where tributary nomads roamed.

² "Punic" is another form for "Phoenician," and is used as a shorter adjective for "Carthaginian."

Her Roman foes represented Carthage as wanting in honesty; and with biting irony they invented the term, "Punic faith," as a synonym for treachery. The slander became embalmed in speech, but it seems baseless. Carthage herself is "a dumb actor on the stage of history." She once had poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but none of it escaped Roman hate, to tell us how Carthaginians thought and felt. Rome wrote the history; but even from the Roman story, the charge of faithlessness and greed is most apparent against Rome.

However, the civilization of Carthage was of an Oriental type (§ 68). Her religion was the cruel and licentious worship of the Phoenician Baal and Astarte. Her armies were a motley mass of mercenaries. And though, like the mother Phoenician states (§ 50), she scattered wide the seeds of a material culture, like them also, she showed no power of assimilating inferior nations. The conquests of Rome were to be Romanized, but six centuries of Punic rule left the Berber tribes of Africa (§ 11, note 2) wholly outside Carthaginian society.

The contrast between the political systems of the two rivals is equally striking. Even her nearest and best subjects Carthage kept in virtual slavery. Says Mommsen (II, 155):—

"Carthage dispatched her overseers everywhere, and loaded even the old Phoenician cities with a heavy tribute, while her subject tribes were practically treated as state slaves. In this way there was not in the compass of the Carthagino-African state a single community, with the exception of Utica, that would not have been politically and materially benefited by the fall of Carthage; in the Romano-Italic there was not one that had not much more to lose than to gain in rebelling against a government which was careful to avoid injuring material interests, and which never, at least by extreme measures, challenged political opposition."

359. The Issue at Stake.—Thus, whatever our sympathy for Carthage and her hero leaders, we must see that the victory of Rome was a necessary condition for the welfare of the human race. The struggle was the conflict of Greece and Persia repeated by more stalwart actors on a western stage.

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (THE WAR FOR SICILY).

360. Occasion. — When Rome conquered South Italy, she came necessarily into relations with the Greeks in Sicily, and so with Carthage. The great island of Sicily is really a continuation of the Italian peninsula. It reaches to within ninety miles of the African coast. A sunken ridge on the bed of the sea shows that it once joined the two continents, and it still forms a stepping-stone between them. For this middle land, European and African struggled for centuries. For two hundred years now it had been divided (§ 218), Syracuse holding the eastern half, Carthage the western.

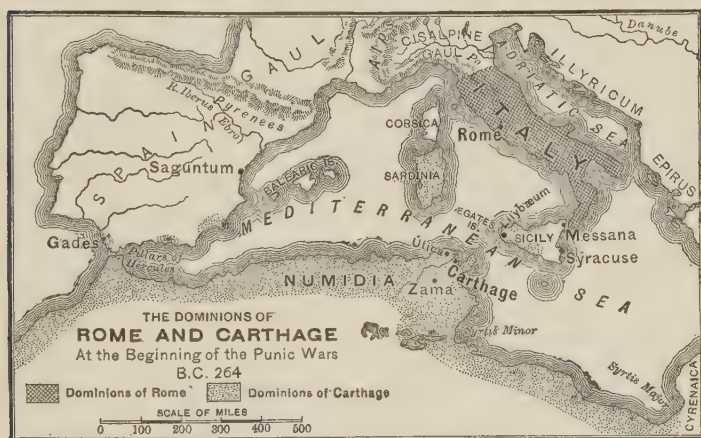
While Rome was still busy with the Pyrrhic war, an event happened which renewed the conflict for Sicily and drew Rome in as a chief actor. A band of Campanian mercenaries, on their way home from service under the tyrant of Syracuse, seized the city of Messana. The robbers called themselves *Mameritines* ("Sons of Mars"), and for several years they ravaged and plundered the northeast corner of Sicily. Now, in 265, they were hard pressed by Hiero II, the ruler of Syracuse, and one faction called in Carthage while another party appealed to Rome.

Both Syracuse and Carthage were allies of Rome, and it was not easy for that state to find excuse for defending the robbers. The desire to check Carthage and to extend Roman power, however, outweighed all caution, as well as all moral considerations. The Senate, indeed, could come to no decision; but the people, to whom it referred the question, voted promptly to send troops to Sicily, and, in 264, Roman legions for the first time crossed the seas. The war with Carthage that followed is known as the *First Punic War*.

361. Strength of the Parties. — Carthage was mistress of an empire huge but scattered and heterogeneous. Rome was the head of a small but compact nationality. The strength of Carthage lay in her wealth and navy. Her weak points were: the jealousy felt by the ruling families at home toward their

own successful generals; the difficulty of dealing with her mercenaries; the danger of revolt among her Libyan subjects; and the fact that an invading army, after one victory, would find no resistance outside her walls, since her jealousy had leveled the defenses of her tributary towns in Africa.

Rome was strong in the patriotism and vigor of her people, in the discipline of her legions, and in the fidelity of her allies. Her weakness lay in the want of a better military system than



the one of annually-changing officers and short-term soldiers,¹ and in the total lack of a navy.

362. General Progress ; Value of the Control of the Sea.—The war lasted twenty-three years, and is ranked by Polybius above all previous wars for severity. Few conflicts illustrate better the value of naval superiority. At first the Carthaginians were undisputed masters of the sea. They therefore reënforced their troops in Sicily at pleasure, and ravaged the coasts of Italy to the utter ruin of seaboard prosperity. Indeed, for a time they made good their warning to the Roman Senate

¹ The military changes referred to in § 356 had not yet taken place.

before the war began,—that against their will no Roman could dip his hands in the sea.

363. Rome becomes a Sea Power. — But the Romans, with sagacity and boldness, built their first war fleet and soon met the ancient Queen of the Seas on her own element. Winning command there temporarily,¹ in 256, they invaded Africa itself. The consul Regulus won brilliant successes there, and even laid siege to Carthage. But, as winter came on, the short-term Roman levies were mostly recalled, according to custom, and the weak remnant was soon crushed.²

364. Rome's Patriotism and Enterprise. — Rome's first attempts upon the sea had been surprisingly successful, but soon terrible reverses befell her there also. In quick succession she lost four great fleets with large armies on board. One sixth of her citizens had perished; the treasury was empty; and, in despair, the Senate was about to abandon the effort to secure the sea. In this crisis Rome was saved by the public spirit of private citizens. Lavish gifts built and fitted out two hundred vessels, and this fleet won an overwhelming victory, which closed the war.

365. Peace; Sicily becomes Roman. — Carthage had lost command of the sea and could no longer reënforce her armies in Sicily. Moreover, she was weary of the war and of the

¹ Special report: the new naval tactics of the Romans (Mommsen, II, 173–176; Ihne, II, 50–55). Despite real genius in the device by which Rome changed a naval into a land battle to so great a degree, her immediate victory at sea over the veteran navy of Carthage is explicable chiefly on the supposition that the “Roman” navy was furnished by the “allies” in Magna Graecia. The story of Polybius that Rome built her fleet in two months on the model of a stranded Carthaginian vessel, and meantime trained her sailors to row sitting on the sand (see Munro, 79–80), must be in the main a quaint invention. See Ihne, II, 52–55, or, more briefly, How and Leigh, 152. Mommsen (II, 43–46) outlines the history of the Roman navy for sixty years before the war, and (II, 172–176) gives a possible meaning to the old account by Polybius.

² Special report: the story of Regulus, and modern criticism of it (Mommsen, II, 184, note; Ihne, II, 78–81). The lesson of the need of a more permanent army for distant warfare was not forgotten. Cf. § 356.

losses it brought to her commerce; and, in 241, she sued for peace. To obtain it she withdrew from Sicily and paid a heavy war indemnity. Hiero, who after the first years of the war had become a faithful ally of Rome, remained master of Syracuse. *The rest of Sicily passed under the rule of Rome.*

III. FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 241-218 B.C.

(The Expansion of Italy to its Natural Borders, and the Organization of the New Conquests.)

366. The Addition of Sardinia and Corsica.—Sagacious Romans looked forward to another struggle with Carthage. That conflict, however, did not come for twenty-three years. Meantime Rome pushed wider the borders of Italy. When the mercenaries of Carthage were withdrawn from Sicily to Africa, they were left unpaid and they soon broke into revolt. The Libyan tribes joined the rising, and a ferocious struggle followed between Carthage and the rebels. The war is known as the War of the Mercenaries, and sometimes as the Inexpiable War. At last the great Carthaginian leader, *Hamilcar Barca*, stamped out the revolt in Africa; but meantime the movement had spread to Sardinia and Corsica, and, in 238, the rebels offered these islands to Rome.

The temptation was too much for Roman honor. The offer was shamelessly accepted, and a protest from distracted Carthage was met sternly by a threat of war. The islands became Roman possessions, and the Tyrrhenian Sea was turned into a Roman lake.

367. The Adriatic a Roman Sea.—This period marks also the first Roman enterprise on the east of Italy. Illyria had risen into a considerable state, in friendly relations with Macedonia. The Illyrian coasts were the homes of countless pirates, who swarmed forth in great fleets to harry the commerce of the adjoining waters. Finally these pirates even captured Corcyra. Other Greek towns complained loudly to

Rome. Rome sent a haughty embassy to demand order from the Illyrian queen. The embassy was assaulted murderously, and Rome declared war. In a brief campaign (229 B.C.) she swept the pirates from the Adriatic and forced Illyria to sue for peace. The Adriatic had become a Roman water-way. At this time Rome kept no territory on the eastern coast; but the Greek cities had learned to look to her for protection, and accordingly Macedonia began to regard her with a jealous eye.

368. The Addition of Cisalpine Gaul. — A few years later came a great addition of territory on the north. Rome had begun to plant colonies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. Naturally the Gauls were alarmed and angered, and, in 225, for the last time they threatened Italy. They penetrated to within three days' march of Rome; but Italian patriotism rallied around the endangered capital, and the barbarians were crushed.

Then Rome resolutely took the offensive, and, by 222, Cisalpine Gaul had become a Roman possession, garrisoned by numerous colonies and traversed by a great military road. *At last Rome had pushed her northern boundary from the low Apennines to the great crescent wall of the Alps.*¹

369. Organization of the Conquests outside of Italy: the Provincial System. — On the whole, Rome had been generous and wise in her treatment of united Italy; but all her conquests since the war with Pyrrhus (Cisalpine Gaul as truly as the islands) were looked upon as outside of Italy (§ 255). The distance of the new possessions from Rome and the character of the countries seemed to make impossible in them the kind

¹ EXERCISE. — Observe carefully the steps of Roman expansion from 367 to 222. The period 367-266 consolidated Apennine Italy (§ 255). In the next fifty years this narrow "Italy" had been rounded out to its true borders by three great steps. (1) The First Punic War, filling half the period, added Sicily. (2) The other great islands bounding Italian waters on the west were seized soon after, treacherously, from Carthage in the hour of her death-struggle with her revolted troops. (3) Then, having provoked the Gauls to war, Rome became mistress of the valley of the Po. Meantime Roman authority had been successfully asserted, also, in the sea bordering Italy on the east.





of government given to the "allies" and municipia in Italy proper. Unfortunately, Rome proved unable to devise a new form of government, and she fell back upon the idea of praefectures (§ 340). The new acquisitions became strictly subject possessions of Rome, and they were ruled much as the praefectures were in Italy.

Sicily, the first possession outside of Italy (241 B.C.), was managed temporarily by a Roman praetor; but in 227, when some semblance of order had been introduced into Sardinia and Corsica, the Senate adopted a permanent plan of government for all these islands. Two additional praetors, it was decided, should be elected each year,— one to rule Sicily, the other for the two other islands. The two governments received the name of *provinces*.

This was the beginning of the provincial system that was to spread finally far beyond these "suburbs of Italy."¹ Soon afterward Cisalpine Gaul was organized in a like manner, though it was not given the title of a province until much later.

IV. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (SOMETIMES STYLED "THE WAR FOR SPAIN"²), 218-202 B.C.

370. Occasion. — Carthage was not ready to resign the sovereignty of the Western Mediterranean without another struggle. Rome's policy of "blunder and plunder" in seizing Sardinia gave her excuse enough to renew the contest if she could find leaders and resources. These were both furnished by the great *Barca* family.

Hamilcar Barca had been the greatest general and the only hero of the First Punic War. From Rome's high-handed treachery in Sardinia he imbibed a deathless hatred for that state; and immediately after putting down the War of the Mercenaries he began to prepare for another conflict. To

¹ The features of the system are treated in §§ 414-417.

² Spain was the important territory that passed to Rome as a result of the war, but the struggle did not begin as a war for Spain.

offset the loss of the great Mediterranean islands, he sought to extend Carthaginian dominion over Spain. The mines of that country, he saw, would furnish the needful wealth, and its hardy tribes, when disciplined, would make an infantry which might meet even the legions of Rome.

371. Hannibal. — When Hamilcar was about to cross to Spain, in 236, he swore his son *Hannibal* at the altar to eternal hostility to Rome. Hannibal was then a boy of nine years. He followed Hamilcar to the wars, and, as a youth, became a dashing cavalry officer and the idol of the soldiery. He used his camp leisure to store his mind with all the culture of Greece. At twenty-six he succeeded to the command in Spain. In rare degree he possessed the ability to secure the devotion of fickle, mercenary troops. He was a statesman of a high order, and possibly the greatest captain in history. The Second Punic War takes its keenest interest from his dazzling career, and even the Roman historians called that struggle the “War with Hannibal.”

No friendly pen has left us a record of Hannibal. Roman annalists, indeed, have sought to stain his fame with envious slander. But, through it all, his character shines out chivalrous, noble, heroic.¹ Says Colonel Dodge: “Putting aside Roman hate, there is not in history a figure more noble in purity, more radiant in patriotism, more heroic in genius, more pathetic in its misfortunes.”

372. Hannibal at Saguntum; Rome declares War, 218 B.C. — Hannibal continued the work of his great father in Spain. He made the southern half of that rich land a Carthaginian province and organized it thoroughly. Then he rapidly carried the Carthaginian frontier to the Ebro, collected a magnificent army of over a hundred thousand men, and besieged Saguntum, an ancient Greek colony near the east coast.

¹ On Hannibal, read Mommsen, II, 243–245; Ihne, II, 147–152, 170, 190, 191, 251; Smith's *Rome and Carthage*; and, if accessible, Dodge's *Hannibal*, 614–653.

Fearing Carthaginian advance, Saguntum had sought Roman alliance; and now, when Carthage refused to recall Hannibal, Rome, in alarm and anger, declared war (218 B.C.).

373. Hannibal's Invasion of Italy to Cannae.—The Second Punic War (218–202 B.C.) was somewhat shorter than the First, but it was an even more strenuous struggle. Rome had intended to take the offensive: indeed, she dispatched one consul in a leisurely way to Spain, and started the other for Africa by way of Sicily. But Hannibal's audacious rapidity threw into confusion all his enemy's plans. In five months he had crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, fighting his way through the Gallic tribes; forced the unknown passes of the Alps, under conditions that made it a feat paralleled only by Alexander's passage of the Hindukush; and, leaving the bones of three fourths his army between the Ebro and the Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with twenty-six thousand "heroic shadows."

With these "emaciated scarecrows" the same fall he swiftly destroyed two hastily gathered Roman armies—at the *Ticinus* and at the *Trebia*. Then the recently pacified Gallic tribes rallied turbulently to swell his ranks. The following spring he crossed the Apennines, caught a Roman army of forty thousand men, blinded with morning mist, near *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it, and then carried fire and sword through Italy.

374. Cannae.—The wary Roman dictator, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, adopted the wise tactics of delay,¹ to wear out Hannibal and to gain breathing time for Rome. But popular demagogues murmured that the Senate protracted the war to gain glory for the aristocratic generals, and the following summer the new consuls were given ninety thousand men—far the largest army Rome had ever put in the field—with orders to crush the daring invader. The result was the battle

¹ From which we get the term "Fabian Policy." Fabius was given the nickname "Cunctator" (Laggard) by the Roman populace.

of *Cannae*—"a carnival of cold steel, a butchery, not a battle." Hannibal lost six thousand men. Rome lost sixty thousand dead and twenty thousand prisoners. A consul, a fourth of the senators, nearly all the officers, and over a fifth of the fighting population of the city, perished. The camps of her two armies fell into Carthaginian hands, and Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings from the hands of fallen Roman nobles.¹

375. Fidelity of the Latins and Italians to Rome.—The victory, however, yielded little fruit. Hannibal's only real chance within Italy had been that brilliant victories might break up the Italian confederacy and bring over to his side the subjects of Rome. Accordingly, he freed his Italian prisoners without ransom, proclaiming that he warred only on Rome and that he came to liberate Italy.

The mountain tribes of the south, eager for plunder, did join him, as did one great city, *Capua*. Three years later, too, a cruel Roman blunder drove some of the Greek towns into his arms. But the other cities—colonies, Latins, or Allies—closed their gates as resolutely as Rome herself,—and so gave marvelous testimony to the excellence of Roman rule and to the national spirit it had fostered.

376. Rome's Grandeur in Disaster.—Rome's own greatness showed grandly in the hour of terror after *Cannae*, when any other people would have given up the conflict in despair. A plot among some faint-hearted nobles to abandon Italy was stifled in the camp; and the surviving consul, Varro, courageously set himself to reorganize the pitiful wreckage of his army.² Before the end of the year, another army under a new

¹ Special reports: (1) The heroic story of the marvelous passage of the Alps; (2) *Trasimene*; (3) *Cannae*. (Good accounts of these battles, with excellent maps, are given in How and Leigh.) (4) Why did Hannibal not attack Rome itself after *Cannae*? (5) Hannibal in South Italy after *Cannae*.

² Varro had been elected in a bitter partisan struggle, as the champion of the democratic party, against the unanimous opposition of the Aristocracy. With undoubted merits in personal character, he had proved utterly lack-

consul was cut to pieces, and by losses elsewhere the Senate had fallen to less than half its numbers;¹ but with stern temper and splendid tenacity Rome refused even to receive Hannibal's envoys or to consider his moderate proposals for peace.²

A third of the adult males of Italy had fallen in battle in three years or were in camp, so that all industry was demoralized. Still taxes were doubled, and the rich gave cheerfully even beyond these crushing demands. The days of mourning for the dead were shortened by a decree of the government. Rome refused to recall a man from Sicily or Spain. Indeed, she sent out new armies to those places, and by enrolling slaves, old men, boys, and the criminals from the prisons (arming them with the sacred trophies in the temples), she managed to put two hundred and fifty thousand troops into the field.

377. Neglect of the Sea by Carthage, and Lack of Concerted Action by her Allies.—Hannibal's other possible chance (that outside Italy) lay in arousing a general Mediterranean war and in receiving strong reënforcements from Carthage. Philip V of Macedon did ally himself with Hannibal, but acted timidly and too late. Syracuse, too, joined Carthage; but its new tyrant was incapable, and, in 212, the city was taken by the Romans, after a memorable three years' siege.³ Strangely,

ing in military talent. Indeed, he had forced his wiser colleague to give battle, and his poor generalship was largely responsible for the disaster. He now returned to Rome, expecting to face stern judges. At Carthage a general so placed would probably have been nailed to a cross. At Rome, faction and criticism were silenced, and the Senate showed its own nobility by publicly giving its thanks to the general "because he had not despaired of the republic."

¹ One hundred and seventy-seven new members were enrolled the next year.

² According to a somewhat doubtful story, Rome refused in this crisis to ransom prisoners. Much as she needed her soldiers back, she preferred, so the story goes, to teach her citizens that they ought at such a time to die for the republic rather than surrender.

³ A siege notable for the scientific inventions of Archimedes (§ 259) used in the defense. The philosopher was killed in the indiscriminate massacre that followed the capture.

Carthage made no serious attempt to secure command of the sea, and so failed to send troops to Hannibal.¹ On the other hand, Rome guarded her coasts with efficient fleets, and transported her armies at will.

378. The Scipios and Hasdrubal in Spain. — Rome now strained every nerve for success abroad, where Hannibal could not act in person. Step by step the Roman generals, the Scipio brothers, forced back the Carthaginian frontier in Spain, and for many years ruined all Hannibal's hopes of reënforcement by land. At last, in 211, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, won a great victory, and the two Scipios perished; but Rome promptly hurried in fresh forces under the young *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who in masterly fashion, for three years more, continued the work of his father and uncle.

379. Changed Character of the War in Italy after Cannae. — In Italy itself, the policy of Fabius was again adopted, varied by the telling blows of the vigorous soldier, Marcellus, who was called the "Sword" of Rome, as Fabius was called her "Shield." Hannibal's hopes had been blasted in the moment of victory. Rome fell back upon an iron constancy and steadfast caution. Her Italian subjects showed a steady fidelity even more ominous to the invader. Carthage proved neglectful, and her allies lukewarm.

Against such conditions all the great African's genius in war and in diplomacy wore itself out in vain. For thirteen years after Cannae he maintained himself in Italy without reënforcement in men or money, — always winning a battle when he could engage the enemy in the field, — and directing operations as best he might in Spain, Sicily, Macedonia, and Africa. But it was a war waged by one supreme genius against the most powerful and resolute nation in the world.

380. "Hannibal at the Gates." — One more dramatic scene marked Hannibal's career in Italy. The Romans had besieged

¹ Read Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power in History*, 14-21, and also Introduction, iv-vii.

Capua. In a daring attempt to relieve his ally, Hannibal marched to the very walls of Rome, ravaging the fields about the city. The Romans, however, were not to be enticed out to a rash engagement, nor could the army around Capua be drawn from its prey. The only result of Hannibal's desperate stroke was the fruitless fright he gave Rome, — such that for generations Roman mothers stilled their children by the terror-bearing phrase, "Hannibal at the Gates!" Roman stories relate, however, that citizens were found, even in that hour of fear, to show a defiant confidence by buying eagerly at a public sale the land where the invader lay encamped.

381. Hannibal's Forces Worn Out. — And so the struggle entered upon its last, long, wasting stage. It became a record of sieges and marches and countermarches, in which Hannibal's genius was as marvelous as ever, earning him from modern military critics the title, "Father of Strategy," but in which there are no more of the dazzling results that mark the first campaigns. Hannibal's Spanish veterans died off, and had to be replaced as best they might by local recruits in Italy; and gradually the Romans learned the art of war from their great enemy.

"With the battle of Cannae the breathless interest in the war ceases; its surging mass, broken on the walls of the Roman fortresses, . . . foams away in ruin and devastation through south Italy, — ever victorious, ever receding. Rome, assailed on all sides by open foe and forsworn friend, driven to her last man and last coin, 'ever great and greater grows' in the strength of her strong will and loyal people, widening the circle round her with rapid blows in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Macedon, while she slowly loosens the grip fastened on her throat at home, till in the end . . . the final fight on African sands at the same moment closes the struggle for life and seats her mistress of the world." — HOW AND LEIGH, 199.

382. The Second Carthaginian Invasion. — Meantime, in Spain, Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had been contending against the crushing force of the Scipios, with the skill and devotion of his house. Finally, in 208, by able maneuvers, he eluded the Roman generals, and started with a veteran army to reën-

force Hannibal. Rome's peril was never greater than when this second son of Barca crossed the Alps successfully with fifty-six thousand men and fifteen elephants.

The Republic put forth its supreme effort. One hundred and fifty thousand men were thrown between the two Carthaginian armies, which together numbered some eighty thousand. By a fortunate chance the Romans captured a messenger from Hasdrubal and so learned his plans, while Hannibal was still ignorant of his approach. This gave a decisive advantage, and the opportunity was well used. The consul, *Claudius Nero*, with audacity learned of Hannibal himself, left part of his force to deceive that leader, and, hurrying northward with the speed of life and death, joined the other consul and fell upon Hasdrubal with crushing numbers at the *Metaurus*. The ghastly head of his long-expected brother, flung with brutal contempt into his camp,¹ was the first notice to Hannibal of the ruin of his family and his cause.

383. Scipio carries the War into Africa.—Still Hannibal remained invincible in the mountains of southern Italy. But Rome now carried the war into Africa. After Hasdrubal left Spain, Scipio rapidly subdued the whole peninsula, and, in 204, he persuaded the Senate to send him with a great army against Carthage itself. Two years later, to meet this peril, Carthage recalled Hannibal. That great leader obeyed sadly, "leaving the country of his enemy," says Livy, "with more regret than many an exile has left his own."

This event marks the end of all hope of Carthaginian success. The same year (202 B.C.) the struggle closed with Hannibal's first and only defeat, at the battle of *Zama*.² Carthage lay at the mercy of the victor, and sued for peace. She gave up Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean; surren-

¹ This deed was in strange contrast to the chivalrous treatment that Hannibal gave to the bodies of Marcellus and of the Roman generals at Cannae and elsewhere.

² Zama was a village a little to the south of Carthage. Special reports: the story of the battle; the career of Hannibal after the war.

dered her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten; paid a huge war indemnity, which was intended to keep her poor for many years; and became a dependent ally of Rome, promising to wage no war without Roman consent. Scipio received the proud surname *Africanus*.¹

384. Result of the Second Punic War: Rome Mistress of the West. — Rome had been fighting for existence, but she had won world-dominion.² *In the West no rival remained*, and her subsequent warfare there was to be only with unorganized barbarians. In the East the result was to show more slowly; but there, too, Roman victory was now only a *matter of time*. No civilized power was again to threaten Rome by invading Italy, and the mighty kingdoms of Alexander's realms were to be absorbed, one by one, into her empire.

This imperial destiny was more than Rome had planned. Italy she had designed to rule. The West had fallen to her as

¹ A Roman had at least three names. The gentile name was the *nomen*, the most important of the three; it came in the middle. The third (the *cognomen*) marked the family. The first (*praenomen*) was the individual name (like our baptismal names). Then a Roman often received also a surname for some achievement or characteristic. Thus *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus* was the individual Publius of the Scipio family of the great Cornelian gens, surnamed Africanus for his conquest of Africa. The first name was often abbreviated in writing. The most common of these abbreviations were: C. for Caius (Gaius); Cn. for Gnaeus; L. for Lucius; M. for Marcus; P. for Publius; Q. for Quintus; T. for Titus. In this volume these names are always given in full, but the student will find this table convenient in reading larger works.

² One result of the war should be noted beside the acquisition of new territory abroad. This is the terrible vengeance Rome visited upon her few unfaithful allies at home. Syracuse had been sacked mercilessly while the war was in progress. Its works of art, the accumulations of centuries, were destroyed or removed to Rome; and it never recovered its former eminence in culture, commerce, or power. Still more harsh was the fate of Capua, which had ranked as the second city of Italy. As a city it ceased to exist. Its leading men were massacred; most of the rest of the population were sold as slaves; the few remaining settlers were governed by a prefect from Rome; and colonies of Roman veterans were planted on its lands. The Greek cities of the south and the mountain tribes that had joined Hannibal lost lands and privileges. And Cisalpine Gaul was thoroughly Romanized by many a cruel campaign.

the heir of Carthage. In the East she hesitated honestly, until events thrust dominion upon her there also.¹ (Cf. §§ 393, 394, 400.)

The Roman policy in the West for the next fifty years is the topic of Division V. Logically it is part of the story we have been telling, and therefore the account is put in this chapter. The trend of events in the East is so different that a separate chapter (chapter vii) is given to expansion in that direction, although the story covers the same half century.

V. THE WEST FROM 201 TO 146 B.C.

A. SPAIN.

385. Spain's Heroic War of Independence.—Rome had still much work to do in the West. A land route to Spain had to be secured; and the mountain tribes in that peninsula and in the islands had to be thoroughly subdued. This involved tedious wars, not always waged with credit to Roman honor.

In Spain two new provinces were created, for which two governors were elected annually by the Roman Senate. Some of these governors proved rapacious; others were incompetent; and the proud and warlike tribes of Spain were driven into a long war for independence.

The struggle was marked by the heroic leadership of the Spanish patriot, *Viriathus*, and by much Roman baseness. A Roman general massacred a tribe which had submitted. Another general procured the assassination of Viriathus by hired murderers. Rome itself rejected treaties after they had saved Roman armies. Spanish towns, which had been captured after gallant resistance, were wiped from the face of the earth, so that other towns chose wholesale suicide rather than surrender to Roman cruelty.²

¹ This hesitancy in the East was due, in part at least, to respect for Greek civilization, to which Rome was beginning to owe more and more.

² Read Mommsen, III, 215–234, for a study of this miserable period.

386. Final Romanization.—Still, despite these miserable means, Roman conquest in the end was to be a blessing to Spain. The struggle in the most inaccessible districts went on until 133, but long before that year the greater part of the land had been Romanized. Traders and speculators flocked to the seaports; the Roman legionaries, quartered in Spain for many years at a time, married Spanish wives, and, when relieved from military service, settled there. No sooner were the restless interior tribes fully subdued than there appeared the promise—to be well kept later—that Spain would become “more Roman than Rome itself.”

Meantime (about 188) Rome had secured a land road, through southern Gaul, from Italy to Spain. This was obtained in the main by friendly alliance with the ancient Greek city Massilia; but there was also some warfare with the Gaulish tribes, which laid the foundations for a new Roman province in South Gaul in the near future (§ 454, note).

B. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (THE WAR FOR AFRICA).

387. Rome seeks Perfidious Pretext against Carthage.—Even before Spain was pacified, hatred and greed had led Rome to seize the remaining realms of Carthage. That state was now powerless for harm. But Roman fear was cruel, and a long series of persecutions forced a needless conflict relentlessly upon the unhappy Carthaginians. The Third Punic War was marked by the blackest perfidy on the part of Rome and by the final desperate heroism of Carthage.

First, that city was called upon to surrender Hannibal to Roman vengeance.¹ Then it was vexed by constant annoyances in Africa on the part of Massinissa, Prince of Numidia. Massinissa had been Rome's ally in the latter part of the Second

¹ When the hero escaped to the East, Roman petty hatred followed him from country to country, until, to avoid falling into Roman hands, he took his own life, “proving in a lifelong struggle with fate, that success is in no way necessary to greatness.”

Punic War, and had been rewarded by new dominions carved out of Carthaginian territory. Now, encouraged by Rome, he encroached more and more, seizing piece after piece of the district that had been left to the vanquished city.

Repeatedly Carthage appealed to Rome, but her just complaints brought no redress. The Roman commissioners that were sent to act as arbiters — with secret orders beforehand to favor Massinissa — carried back to Rome only a greater fear of the reviving wealth of Carthage, and told the astonished Roman Senate of a city with crowded streets, with treasury and arsenals full, and with its harbors thronged with shipping. From this time (157 B.C.) the narrow-minded but zealous *Cato* closed every speech in the Senate, no matter what the subject, with the phrase “*Delenda est Carthago*” (Carthage must be blotted out).

388. Rome declares War ; Carthage is treacherously disarmed.

— Still the caution of Carthage gave no handle to Roman hate ; until at last, when Massinissa had pushed his seizures almost up to the gates, Carthage took up arms. By her treaty with Rome she had promised to engage in no war without Roman permission ; and Rome at once snatched at the excuse to declare war.

In vain, terrified Carthage punished her leaders and offered abject submission. The Roman Senate would only promise that the city should be left independent if it complied with the further demands of Rome, to be announced on African soil. The Roman fleet and army proceeded to Carthage, and an act of masterful treachery was played out by successive steps.

First, at the demand of the Roman general, Carthage sent to the Roman camp three hundred boys from the noblest families, as hostages, amid the tears and outcries of the mothers. Then, on further command, the city dismantled its walls and stripped its arsenals, sending in long lines of wagons to the Roman army 3000 catapults and 200,000 stand of arms, with vast military supplies. Next the shipping was all surrendered.

Finally, now that the city was supposed to be utterly defenseless, came the announcement that it must be destroyed and the people removed to some spot ten miles inland from the sea on which from dim antiquity they had founded their wealth and power.

389. The Heroic Resistance of Carthage. — Despair blazed into passionate wrath, and the Carthaginians fitly chose death rather than ruin and exile. Carelessly enough, the Roman army remained at a distance for some days. Meanwhile the dismantled and disarmed town became one great workshop for war. Women gave their hair to make cords for catapults; the temples were ransacked for arms, and torn down for timber and metal; and to the angry dismay of Rome, Carthage stood a four-years' siege, holding out heroically against famine, pestilence, and war.

At last, in 146, the legions forced their way over the walls. For seven days more, the fighting continued from house to house, until at last a miserable remnant surrendered, — fifty thousand of a population of seven hundred thousand. The commander Hasdrubal¹ at the last moment made his peace with the Roman general; but his disdainful wife, taunting him from the burning temple roof as he knelt at Scipio's feet, slew their two boys and cast herself with them into the ruins. Numbers more chose likewise to die in the flames rather than pass into Roman slavery.

390. Carthage is "blotted out"; the Province of Africa. — For many days the city was given up to pillage. Then, by express orders from Rome, it was burned to the ground, and its site was plowed up, sown to salt, and cursed.

To carry out this crime fell to the lot of one of the purest and noblest characters Rome ever produced, — *Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus*, the nephew and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus, known himself as *Africanus the Younger*. As he watched the smoldering ruins (they burned for seventeen days)

¹ Not the Barcide Hasdrubal, of course.

with his friend Polybius the historian, Scipio spoke his fear that some day Rome might suffer a like fate, and he was heard to repeat Homer's lines:—

“Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,
The day when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend,
And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.”

What was left of the ancient territory of Carthage became the *Province of Africa*, with the capital at Utica. Two centuries later, under the Roman Empire, North Africa became a chief seat of Roman civilization.¹

FOR FURTHER READING.—Ancient writers: With the beginning of the Second Punic War, Livy becomes an important authority (his account of the First War unfortunately is among the lost books of his History). Polybius wrote nearer the times (at the close of the Third War), and is the greater historian; some valuable extracts are given in Munro's *Source Book*, 79-91. Plutarch's *Lives* (“Fabius,” “Marcellus”) make fascinating reading.

Mommsen (bk. iii, chs. i-ii, iv-vii) and Ihne (II, 3-115, 143-484, and III, 320-407) continue to be the two great modern guides. Pelham's excellence for certain parts of the story is noted in the text; his arrangement is admirable. How and Leigh gives a clear and full narrative. For the struggle with Carthage, Smith's *Rome and Carthage* (Epochs) is convenient; and students will enjoy Church's *Carthage* (Story of the Nations). For the First Punic War, Freeman's *Story of Sicily* (ch. xiv) is good. For the Second Punic War, Arnold's *History* is perhaps the best narrative. See, also, Dodge's *Hannibal* (Captains) and Morris' *Hannibal* (Heroes).

REVIEW EXERCISE.—Catchword review of Roman expansion in the West from 264 to 146.

¹ Special reports: the final siege of Carthage; Massinissa and the kingdom he created; Africanus the Younger, character and work.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WINNING OF THE EAST, 201-146 B.C.

I. AN ATTEMPT AT PROTECTORATES.

391. Earlier Beginnings: the Illyrian Pirates; the First Macedonian War. — Ever since the repulse of Pyrrhus, Rome had been drifting into contact with the Greek kingdoms of the East. With Egypt she had a friendly alliance and close commercial intercourse. Between the First and the Second Punic War, too, she had chastised the formidable pirates of the Illyrian coasts, and so, as the guardian of order, had come into friendly relations with some of the cities in Greece (§ 367).

Further than this, Rome showed no desire to go. But Macedonia, the nearest of the great Greek kingdoms, was growing fearful of Roman encroachment; and, in 214, Philip V of Macedonia joined himself to Hannibal against Rome (§ 377). The war with Macedonia which followed is known as the *First Macedonian War*. Rome entered upon it only to prevent a Macedonian invasion of Italy, and she waged it by means of her Ætolian allies.¹ It closed in 205, without any especial change in Eastern affairs, but it made later struggles natural.

392. Second Macedonian War. — In 205, Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus of Syria tried to seize Egypt, left just then to a boy king. Egypt was an ally of Rome. Moreover, it was already becoming the granary of the Mediterranean, and Rome could not wisely see it pass into hostile hands. Philip also attacked Athens, another of Rome's allies, and as soon as Rome's hands were freed by the peace with Carthage (201 B.C.),

¹ Aetolia had sought Roman protection against Macedonia and had been recognized as an "ally" (§ 251).

the Senate persuaded the wearied Assembly to enter upon the *Second Macedonian War* (201-196 B.C.).

At first Philip won some success, and began to overrun Greece; but in 198 the Senate intrusted the war to *Flaminius*, who was to be the first Roman conqueror in the East. Flaminius was one of the group of young Romans about Scipio Aemilianus imbued with Hellenic culture and chivalrous ideals. His appointment proved particularly grateful to the Greek allies of Rome, and his excellent generalship quickly put Philip on the defensive.

The decisive battle was fought at *Cynoscephalae* (Dog's heads), a group of low hills in Thessaly; and the result was due, not to generalship, but to the fighting qualities of the soldiery. The two armies were of nearly equal size. They met in mist and rain, and the engagement was brought on by a chance encounter of scouting parties. The pliable legion proved its superiority over the unwieldy phalanx (§ 353). The Roman loss was 700; the Macedonian, 13,000.

Philip was left at the mercy of the victor, but the chivalrous Flaminius gave generous terms. Macedonia, it is true, sank into a second-rate power, and became a dependent ally of Rome. But Rome herself *took no territory*. Macedonia's possessions in Greece were taken from her, and Flaminius proclaimed that the Greeks were "free." The many Greek states, along with Rhodes and Pergamum and the other small states of Asia, became Rome's grateful allies. In name they were equals of Rome; in fact, they were *Roman protectorates*.¹

393. The War with Antiochus of Syria.—Meanwhile Antiochus had sheltered Hannibal and had been plundering Egypt's possessions in Asia. Now he turned to seize Thrace, Greece, Pergamum, and Rhodes. Rome sincerely dreaded a conflict with the "Great King," the Lord of Asia, but she had no choice. The struggle proved easy and brief. In the second

¹ That is, Rome controlled all the foreign relations of each of these states, — at least, whenever she cared to do so.

campaign, in 190, Roman legions for the first time invaded Asia, and at *Magnesia*,¹ in Lydia, they shattered the power of Syria. That kingdom was reduced in territory and power, somewhat as Macedonia had been, but Rome still kept nothing for herself. Her allies were rewarded with gifts of territory; and most of the Greek cities and small states of Asia were declared free, and really became friendly dependents of Rome.

394. Rome drawn on, against her Will, to this System of Eastern Protectorates.²—Thus, in eleven years (200–190 B.C.) after the close of the Second Punic War, Rome had set up a virtual protectorate over all the realms of Alexander's successors. This had come about, too, without definite self-seeking on her part; and so far she seemed unwilling to *annex* any eastern territory.

But this position was unstable. The Greek states were embroiled ceaselessly in petty quarrels among themselves, and they were endangered constantly by the greed of their greater neighbors. From all sides came appeals to Rome to prevent injustice. The disturbing powers were Macedonia, Syria, and the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues. The forces which stood for peace were Egypt, Rhodes, Pergamum, and the small states of European Greece. It was these pacific powers which especially claimed protection from Rome.

It is true that the weakness of the eastern states drew the great western power on and on, and that her own methods became less and less scrupulous. Cruelty and cynical disregard for obligations more and more stamp her conduct. But, after all, as How and Leigh well say, "compared with the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids,³ her hands were clean and her rule bearable. In that intolerable eastern hubbub, men's

¹ The Roman commander was Lucius Scipio, who took the name *Asiaticus*; but credit was really due to his brother Publius Scipio Aemilianus, who accompanied the expedition.

² Cf. § 376. Read Mommsen, II, 363 and 413–415, to support the quotations in this section.

³ A ruling family in Macedonia.

eyes turned still with envy and wonder to the stable and well-ordered Republic of the West."

"The Roman senate, which so lately sat to devise means to save Rome from the grasp of Hannibal, now sits as a Court of International Justice for the whole civilized world, ready to hear the causes of every king or commonwealth that has any plaint against any other king or commonwealth. . . . The Roman Fathers judge the causes of powers which in theory are the equal allies of Rome; they judge by virtue of no law, of no treaty; they judge because the common instinct of mankind sees the one universal judge in the one power which has strength to enforce its judgments." — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 58.

II. THE PROTECTORATES BECOME PROVINCES.

395. A Gradual Process. — Rome could not stop with protectorates: They had neither the blessings of real liberty nor the good order of provinces; and gradually Rome was led into a process of annexation in the civilized East, as already in the barbarous West. By 146, this process was well under way; and in the next hundred years — before the day of the Caesars — the old power of *influence over "allies"* had everywhere been transformed into *dominion over provinces*.

Long before the close of that period, there took place a deplorable change in Roman policy. Appetite for power grew with its exercise. Jealousy appeared toward the prosperity of even the most devoted ally. And finally, to complete the extension of her sway in the East, where she had at first hesitated over-modestly, Rome sank to treacheries and violences as base and high-handed as those that marked her treatment of Carthage.

To tell in full the story of this Roman expansion is not possible in a book like this. We can note only a few great steps in the process.

396. Macedonia a Province, 146 B.C. — The plots of Perseus, king of Macedonia, made inevitable a *Third War with Macedonia*, and the Roman victory of *Pydna* (168 B.C.) closed the life of that ancient kingdom. It was broken up into four

petty republics, which were declared free, but which were provinces of Rome in all but name and good order. They paid tribute, were disarmed, and were forbidden intercourse with one another; but they did not at first receive a Roman governor or obtain the benefits of firm administration. Some years later a pretended son of Perseus tried to restore the monarchy; and this attempt led to the full establishment of the Roman "Province of Macedonia," with a Roman magistrate at its head (146 B.C.).

397. Rearrangements in Greece.—The same year witnessed important rearrangements in *Greece*. Various factions there had sympathized with Perseus in his hopeless struggle, and had been sternly or cruelly punished. In the years that followed, the Roman Senate was called upon to listen to ceaseless wearisome complaints from one Greek city or party against another. The Roman policy was sometimes vacillating, sometimes contemptuous. Finally a clash came with the Achaeans, who recklessly defied repeated Roman warnings. The Achaean Confederacy fell easily before Roman arms, in 146 B.C. Corinth had been the chief offender. By order of the Senate, that city was burned and its site cursed.¹

Greece was not yet made a province, but it was treated as Macedon had been just after Pydna, and was virtually ruled by the Roman governor of Macedon.² Thus the one year 146 B.C. saw the last territory of Carthage made a Roman province and the first province formed in the old empire of Alexander, together with the destruction of the ancient cities of Carthage and Corinth.

¹ The destruction of Corinth was a greater crime than that of Carthage, Syracuse, Capua, or the other capitals that Roman envy laid low. Corinth was the great emporium of Greece, and its ruin was due mainly to the jealousy of the commercial class in Rome. Its art treasures, so far as preserved, became the plunder of the Roman state; but much was lost. Polybius saw common soldiers playing at dice, amid the still smoking ruins, on the paintings of the greatest masters.

² A century later, Greece became the Province of Achaia. About the same time, Corinth was rebuilt by Caesar (§ 464), and Carthage by Octavius (§ 475).

398. The Province of Asia. — A few years later (133 B.C.) the king of Pergamum willed to Rome his realms, which became the *Province of Asia*.¹ Further progress in the East in this period consisted in jealously reducing friendly allies, like



Rhodes, to the condition of subjects, and in openly setting up protectorates over Egypt and Syria.

It is in this last series of events that Rome's lust for power begins to show most hatefully. She had no more generosity for a faithful ally than she had magnanimity toward a fallen foe, and her treatment of Pergamum gains little by contrast with her perfidious dealings with Carthage.

III. GENERAL RESULT IN 146 B.C.—A GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD UNDER ROMAN SWAY.

399. Rome the Sole Great Power. — In 264 B.C. Rome had been *one of five* Great Powers (§ 357). By the peace of 201, after Zama, Carthage disappeared from that list. In the next fifty years, Cynoscephalae, Magnesia, Pydna, and Roman diplo-

¹ After the battle of Magnesia (§ 393), Pergamum had been enlarged, so that it included most of western Asia Minor. This region was now known as "Asia." It is in this sense that the word Asia is used in the Acts of the Apostles, as, for instance, when Paul says, that, after going through Phrygia, he was forbidden "to pass into Asia," and again, later, that "all they who dwelt in Asia" heard the word.

macy removed three of the others. In 146, Rome was the *sole* Great Power. She had annexed as provinces all the dominions of Carthage and of Macedonia. Egypt and Syria had become protectorates. All the smaller states had been brought within her "sphere of influence." She held the heritage of Alexander as well as that of Carthage. There remained no state able to dream of equality with Rome.

400. Distinction between the Latin West and the Greek East.— At the same time, while Rome was really mistress in both East and West, her relations with the two sections were widely different. In the West, Rome appeared on the stage as the successor of Carthage; and to the majority of her western subjects, despite terrible cruelties in war, she brought better order and higher civilization than they had known. Thus the western world became Latin.

In the East, Rome appeared first as the liberator of the Greeks. Her provincial system and the good Roman order were introduced slowly; and to the last, the East remained Greek, not Latin, in language, customs, and thought. *The Adriatic continued to divide the Latin and Greek civilizations when the two shared the world under the sway of Rome.*

FOR FURTHER READING.— An admirable brief treatment of the expansion in the East is given in Pelham, 140–157. Mommsen and Ihne give sharply opposed views of Rome's intentions in Greece; their works may be consulted for the period by advanced students. The histories of Greece that deal with this period are useful, especially Holm, Thirlwall, and Mahaffy. Plutarch's *Lives* ("Aemilius Paulus," "Flamininus,") as usual. All should read the noble summary of the whole period of Roman expansion in Freeman's *Chief Periods*, 45–59.

REVIEW EXERCISES.— 1. Catchword review of Rome's progress in the East.

2. Connected review of the general topic of Rome's growth by large periods; thus, —

(1) Growth under the Kings, 753–510 (?).

(2) Growth during the strife between patricians and plebeians, 510–367.

(3) Growth of united Rome (under the guidance of the Senate), 367–146.

3. Catchword review of the same topic, — Roman expansion, from legendary times to 146 B.C.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW STRIFE OF CLASSES, 146-49 B.C.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

401. A Summary of Periods of History under the Republic. — The history of the Roman Republic falls into three great divisions.

a. The internal conflict between plebeians and patricians (a century and a half, 510-367). This period closed with the fusion of the old classes into a united people.

b. The expansion of this united Rome (a little more than two centuries): over Italy, 367-266; over the Mediterranean coasts, 264-146.

c. A new internal strife (something less than a century, 146-49). This time the conflict was between rich and poor,¹ between Rome and her "Allies," and between Italy and the provinces.

The first two periods we have already surveyed. The third is the subject of the present chapter.

402. The Great Evils of the Period. — We have noted that Rome was governed by a new "nobility" (§ 345). This senatorial oligarchy carried Rome triumphantly through her great wars, but it failed to devise a plan of government fit for the conquests outside Italy. It knew how to conquer, but not how to rule. There followed a century of gross misgovernment abroad. This corrupted the citizens and lowered the moral tone at home, until the Republic was no longer fit to rule even Italy or herself. *There resulted a threefold conflict: in Rome,*

¹ Observe that this class struggle bears more closely upon questions of our own day than did the earlier conflict of plebeians and patricians.

between rich and poor; in Italy, between Rome and the "Allies"; in the empire at large, between Italy and the provinces.

Moreover, Rome had left no other state able to keep the seas free from pirates or to guard the frontiers of the civilized world against barbarians. It was therefore her plain duty to police the Mediterranean lands herself. But ere long this simple duty was neglected: the seas swarmed again with pirate fleets, and new barbarian thunderclouds, unwatched, gathered on all the frontiers.

403. The Plan of the Chapter. — Each of these evils will be surveyed in detail (§§ 404–417). Then we shall notice how the senatorial oligarchy grew more and more irresponsible and incompetent. It was not able itself to grapple with the new problems which expansion had brought, and it jealously crushed out each individual statesman who tried to heal the diseases of the state in constitutional ways (§§ 420–431). Thus, when the situation became unbearable, power fell to a series of military chiefs — Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar. The despotic usurpations of these leaders led to a new system of government which we call the Empire.

II. THE EVILS IN DETAIL.

A. IN ROME.

404. Economic and Moral Decline due to the Great Wars. — Rome had begun to decline in morals and in industry before the end of the Second Punic War. Even a glorious war tends to demoralize society. It corrupts morals, and creates extremes of wealth and poverty. Extreme poverty lowers the moral tone further. So does quick-won and illegitimate wealth. Then the moral decay of the citizens shows in the state as political disease. The Second Punic War teaches this lesson to the full.

In that war Italy lost a million lives — the flower of the citizen body. The adult Roman citizens fell off from 298,000 to 214,000. Over much of the peninsula the homesteads had been hopelessly devastated; while years of camp life, with plunder for pay, had corrupted the simple tastes of the old yeomen. In

the ruin of the small farmer, Hannibal had dealt his enemy a deadlier blow than he ever knew.

Trade, too, had stagnated, and illegitimate profits were eagerly sought. The merchants who had risked their wealth so enthusiastically to supply their country in her dire need after Cannae (§ 376), began to indemnify themselves, as soon as that peril was over, by fraudulent war contracts. We are told even that sometimes they over-insured ships, supposed to be loaded with supplies for the army in Spain or Africa, and then scuttled them, to get the insurance money from the state. Later conquests gave this merchant class still further opportunities.

Thus the farmers had been impoverished, and in the cities there gathered a starving rabble, while between these masses and the old senatorial oligarchy sprang up a new aristocracy of wealth. Its members were known as *equites* (knights).¹ Its riches were based on rapacious plunder of conquered countries, on fraudulent contracts with the government at home, on reckless speculation, and on unjust appropriation of the public lands.²

405. The Rise of Luxury. — With the *equites* and the nobles, the old Roman simplicity gave way to sumptuous luxury. There was growing display in dress and at the table, in rich draperies and couches and other house furnishings, in the celebration of marriages, and at funerals. As the Roman Juvenal wrote later: "Luxury has fallen upon us — more terrible than the sword; the conquered East has avenged herself by the gift of her vices." The economic phenomena, good and bad, that had occurred in the Greek world (§§ 227, 235) after the conquests of Alexander, were now repeated on a larger scale in Italy — with this difference, that the coarser Roman resorted too often to tawdry display and to gluttony or other brutal

¹ This order must not be confused with the earlier *military* class of knights (§ 286).

² The restriction of the Licinian law (§ 322) had soon become a dead letter, and the wealthy classes continued to use the state lands as private property.

excesses, from which the more refined and temperate Greek turned with disgust.

Alongside this private luxury, there grew the practice of entertaining the populace with public shows. These were often connected with religious festivals, and were of many kinds. It was the special duty of the aediles to care for public entertainment, but gradually many candidates for popular favor began to give shows of this kind.

406. Gladiatorial Games. — Among these new shows were the horrible *gladiatorial games*. These came, not from the Greek East, but from neighbors in Italy. They were an old Etruscan custom (§ 260, close), and were introduced into Rome about the beginning of the Punic Wars. A gladiatorial contest was a combat in which two men fought each other to the death for the amusement of the spectators. The practice was probably connected with ancient human sacrifices for the dead, and at Rome the first contests of this kind took place only at the funerals of nobles. By degrees, however, they became the most popular of the public amusements and were varied in character. A long series of combats would be given at a single exhibition, and many couples, armed in different ways, would engage at the same time. Sometimes wild beasts, also, fought each other, and sometimes beasts fought with men.

At first the gladiators were captives in war, and fought in their native fashion, for the instruction as well as the entertainment of the spectators. Later, slaves and condemned criminals were used. Finally this fighting became a profession, for which men prepared by careful training in gladiatorial schools.

407. Greek Culture. — Alongside these evil features there was some compensation in a new inflow of Greek culture. Men like Flamininus and the Scipios absorbed much of the best spirit of Greek thought; and there was a general admiration for Greek art and literature. For a long time to come, however, this did not make Rome herself productive in art or literature. Greek became the fashionable language; Greek marbles and pictures were carried off from Greek cities

to adorn Roman palaces. But Rome, in this period, produced few great sculptors or painters, and such books as appeared were mainly the work of Greek adventurers (§ 523).

408. The Continued Decline of the Yeomanry after the Wars.¹—After the great wars were over, the rift between rich and poor went on widening. Rome soon had its hungry masses of unemployed laborers in the city and its land question in the country.

The yeomanry who had survived the ruin of war were fast squeezed off the land by new economic conditions which the ruling classes did not try to correct. Sicily and other provinces supplied Italian cities with corn cheaper than the Italian farmer could raise. The large landlord in Italy turned to cattle-grazing, or to wine and oil culture. The small farmer had no such escape, for these forms of industry called for large tracts and slave labor. For grazing, or often simply for pleasure resorts, the new capitalists and the nobility wanted huge domains, and sought to buy out the poor farmers. The decreased profits of grain raising usually made this class ready to sell. At the same time, the wars in the East furnished an abundance of cheap slaves for the wealthy class, so that the landless freeman could find no employer.

Thus we have a group of factors, all tending to the same end:—

- a. the cheap grain from the provinces;
- b. the introduction of a new industry better suited to large holdings and to slave labor;
- c. the growth of large fortunes eager for landed investment;
- d. the growth of a cheap slave supply.

And so great ranches, with slave herdsmen and their flocks, took the place of many cottages on small, well-tilled farms, each of which once supported its independent family of Italian citizens. The small farmers, formerly the backbone of Italian society in peace and war alike, drifted from the soil to form a miserable rabble at the capital. There they became the

¹ Read Mommsen, III, 304-308, 311-314, or Ihne, IV, ch. xii.

allies and finally the masters of cunning politicians, who amused them with festivals and gladiatorial shows, and who were finally to support them, at state expense, with free grain. The lines of an English poet, two thousand years later, regarding similar phenomena in his own country, apply to this Italy:—

“Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay !”

409. Violent Seizure of Land by the Rich.—When the small farmer would not sell, the rich and grasping landlord sometimes had recourse to force or fraud, to get the coveted patch of land. This was especially true in the more secluded regions, where, despite all discouragements, the yeomen clung stubbornly to their ancestral fields.¹ In pathetic words the Latin poet Horace (§ 525) describes the violence and trickery used by the great man toward such helpless victims.

410. Political Results: Growth of the Mob and Decay of the Constitution.—The economic changes had replaced the rugged, honest citizen-farmer with an incapable, effeminate nobility and a mongrel, hungry mob, reënforced by freed slaves. With this moral decline came political decay. The constitution in theory remained that of the conquerors of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal, but in reality it had become a plaything tossed back and forth between factions in the degenerate state. Old ideas of loyalty, obedience, regard for law, self-restraint, grew rare. Young nobles flattered and caressed the populace for votes.² Bribery became undisguised and rampant. Statesmen came to disregard all checks of the constitution in order to carry a point.

¹ Read Mommsen, III, 313.

² On the rabble, see Mommsen, III, 35–40 and 329–332. Few were those who could defy the hissings as did the younger Africanus: “Silence, ye step-children of Italy. Think ye I fear those whom I myself brought in chains to Rome?” Special report: the incident in which Africanus used these words. Observe the suggestion as to the mixed, non-Italian character of the Roman populace.

411. Political Results : Decline of the Senate. — Meantime the senatorial oligarchy closed up its ranks. A law provided that the great offices could be held only in a certain order; and, by custom, the lowest curule office, the aedileship, was so burdened with costly spectacles for the populace that only men of great wealth or the most reckless gamblers could start upon a political career.¹ Thus secure in their own fortunes, the nobles let things go at will, grasping for themselves the profits of empire, but shirking its responsibilities.

Of course, among the cowardly and dissolute aristocrats there were noble exceptions; but Mommsen, who so generously applauded the Senate of 200 B.C. (§ 348), says of its successor eighty years later: —

“It sat on the vacated throne with an evil conscience and divided hopes, indignant at the institutions of the state which it ruled, and yet incapable of even systematically assailing them, vacillating in all its conduct except where its own material advantage prompted a decision, a picture of faithlessness toward its own as well as the opposite party, of inward inconsistency, of the most pitiful impotence, of the meanest selfishness, — an unsurpassed ideal of misrule.”²

B. IN ITALY.

412. The distinction between citizens and subjects (§ 334 ff.) was drawn more sharply. Admission to Roman citizenship from without almost ceased. New Latin colonies were no longer founded. Laws restricted the old freedom of Latin migration to Rome, and confounded the Latins with the other “Allies.” The grade of inferior municipalities, too, disappeared, partly by promotion, partly by degradation.³

¹ Ihne, II, 481; Mommsen, III, 40-42 and 124-126. Special report: new games and festivals in this period. On the effect of the lack of salary for public service, cf. §§ 177 and 244.

² To keep clear the significance of this decline of the Senate, let the student reread (with reference to dates) §§ 348, 349, 403, 411.

³ Read Mommsen, III, 23-29. It may be well for the student to prepare for §§ 412-413 by reviewing §§ 334-349.

413. Growth of Roman Insolence toward the "Subjects."— This sharpening of the line between Romans and subjects tended to create envy on one side and haughtiness on the other. Rome began openly to treat the "Allies" as subjects. They were given a smaller share of the plunder in war than formerly, and they were ordered to double their proportion of soldiers for the army.

Worse than this, was the occasional insolence or brutality of a Roman official. In one town the city consul was stripped and scourged because the wife of a Roman magistrate felt aggrieved that the public baths were not vacated quickly enough when she desired to use them. In another, a young Roman idler, looking on languidly from his litter, caused a free herdsman to be whipped to death for a light jest at his expense.¹

C. IN THE PROVINCES.²

414. Irregular Growth of the Provincial System and its Deterioration.— The growth of provincial government had been a matter of patchwork and makeshifts. There had been no comprehensive views of Roman interests and no earnest desire to govern for the good of the provincials. Both these things had to wait for the Caesars. The Republic began its world-rule by adopting, with some changes, the systems of taxation it found in force in its different conquests. At first, to be sure, the Roman administration was more honest, capable, and just, than the Carthaginian or the Greek. But irresponsible power bred recklessness and corruption. Deterioration soon set in; and,

¹ These incidents were stated by Caius Gracchus (§ 426) in the year 123, in his fiery pleas for reform.

² Mommsen, III, 29-35; Ihne, IV, 197-208; Pelham, 174-186, 327-329; Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 40-88. On the governor's tyranny, Cicero's *Oration against Verres*, or the chapter on "A Roman Magistrate" in Church's *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*. By 133, there were eight provinces,—Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, Farther Spain, Africa, Illyria (which had been conquered after the third Macedonian War), Macedonia, and Asia. Cisalpine Gaul, Southern Gaul, and Greece were Roman possessions and were soon to be provinces.

before the year 100, it was doubtful whether the West had gained by the fall of Carthage. It took the Empire with its better aims and methods to dispel the doubt.

415. Marks of a Province. — At the worst, existing institutions were everywhere respected, with true Roman tolerance. As in Italy, however, the different cities were jealously isolated from one another. As in Italy, too, there were various grades of cities. To most of them was left their self-control for purely local concerns, and some nominally were independent allies, with special exemption from taxes. But in general, the distinctive marks of a province, as opposed to Italian communities, were (1) *payment of tribute* in money or grain,¹ (2) *disarmament*, and (3) *the absolute rule of a Roman governor*.

416. The Governor. — The actual working of the system rested with the governor, and everything tended to make him a tyrant. He was appointed by the Senate from those who had just held consulships or praetorships, and he had the title of pro-consul or pro-praetor. His power, even in peace, was as great as the consul exercised at the head of an army. He had no colleague. There was no appeal from his decrees. There was no tribune to veto his act. He had soldiery to enforce his commands. His whole official staff went out with him, and were strictly subordinate to him.

The persons of the provincials were at his mercy. In Cisalpine Gaul a governor caused a noble Gaul, a fugitive in his camp, to be beheaded, merely to gratify with the sight a worthless favorite who lamented that he had missed the gladiatorial games at Rome. There was even less check upon the governor's financial oppression. All offices were unpaid; the way to them was through vast expense; and the plundering of a province came to be looked upon as the natural means of repaying one's self for previous outlay and for a temporary exile

¹ The "Allies" in Italy furnished men, but did not pay tribute. The position of the provincial cities was less honorable in Roman eyes, and it was more liable to abuse (§ 416).

from Rome. In short, the senatorial nobility passed around the provinces among themselves as so much spoil.

A governor might be brought to trial, it is true; but only *after* his term had expired; and only at Rome. Poor provincials, of course, had to endure any abuse without even seeking redress; and in any case it was rarely possible to secure conviction even of the grossest offenders. The only court for such trials was made up of senators.¹ Thus many of the judges were themselves interested in similar plunderings; and, with the best of them, class spirit stood in the way of convicting a noble.

When other means failed to secure acquittal, the culprit could fall back on bribery. When Verres was given the province of Sicily for three years, Cicero tells us, he cynically declared it quite enough: "In the first year he could secure enough plunder for himself; in the second for his friends; in the third for his judges."

417. The Provinces the "Estates of the Roman People." — It was not the senatorial class alone, however, who enriched themselves from the provinces. All Rome, and indeed all Italy, drew profit from them.

The state now secured its immense revenues mainly from taxation of the provincials, and from its domains and mines in the provinces. *The equites*, organized in companies ("publicans") or as private speculators, with their agents, swarmed by tens of thousands in every rich province. They conducted all public works, with corrupt contracts. They "farmed" the taxes (that is, they paid the Roman treasury a fixed amount, and then squeezed from the province as much more as they could). They loaned money at infamous interest; and, dividing their ill-gotten plunder with the governor, they robbed the unhappy provincials mercilessly in many ways.² *The populace* looked to the provinces for cheap grain, and for wild-beast shows and other spectacles.

¹ Later on, the equites were admitted to these courts; § 427, close.

² Read Arnold, *Provincial Administration*, 82, 83.

"Italy was to rule and feast; the provinces were to obey and pay." And withal it was nobody's business in particular to see that these "farms of the Roman people" were not rapidly and wastefully exhausted.

D. SLAVERY.

We have now surveyed the first three of the four great evils mentioned in § 402. The fourth (the danger of barbarian inroads) can be best dealt with in the narrative to follow (§§ 434, 441, 450, etc.). But Rome's most dangerous barbarians were in her midst; and a few words must be given now to the evils of Roman slavery.

418. The Extent and Brutal Nature of Roman Slavery.¹—In the last period of the Republic, slavery was unparalleled in its immensity and degradation. Mommsen is probably right in saying that in comparison with its abyss of suffering all negro slavery is but as a drop. Captives in war were commonly sold by the state or given away to wealthy nobles. To keep up the supply of slaves, man hunts were regularly organized on the frontiers, and some of the provinces themselves were desolated by kidnappers. At the market in Delos ten thousand slaves were sold in a single day.

The slaves came in part from the cultured East, but they came also from the wildest and most ferocious barbarians,—Gauls, Goths, Moors. The more favored ones became schoolmasters, secretaries, stewards.² The most unfortunate were savage herdsmen and the hordes of branded and shackled laborers, who were clothed in rags and who slept in underground dungeons.

The maxim of even the model Roman, Cato (§ 420), was to work them like so many cattle, selling off the old and infirm.

¹ Mommsen, III, 68-73, 305-311; or Beesly, *The Gracchi*, 10-14.

² The student must not think of slaves in ancient times as usually of a different color and race from the masters. The fact that they were commonly of like blood, and often of higher culture, gave to ancient slavery a peculiar character, when compared with more modern slavery.

"The slave," said he, "should be always either working or sleeping." With the worst class of masters the brutal Roman nature vented itself in inhuman cruelties. The result was expressed in the saying — "So many slaves, so many enemies." The truth of this maxim was to find too much proof.

419. Slave Wars. — In the year 135 came the first of a long series of slave revolts. Seventy thousand insurgent slaves were masters of Sicily for four years. They defeated army after army that Rome sent against them, and desolated the island with indescribable horrors before the revolt was stamped out.

Thirty years later, when Rome was trembling before the Teutonic invasion (§ 434), occurred a Second Sicilian Slave War — more formidable even than the first,¹ lasting five years. Other slave risings took place at the same time. Another thirty years, and there came the terrible slave revolt in Italy itself, headed by the gallant *Spartacus*. Spartacus was a Thracian captive who had been forced to become a gladiator. Escaping from the gladiatorial school at Capua, with a few companions, he fled to the mountains. There he was joined by other fugitive slaves and outlaws until he was at the head of an army of seventy thousand men. He kept the field three years, and for a time threatened Rome itself.

FOR FURTHER READING. — For an early authority, see *Appian*, II (White's translation). Very full surveys are given in Ihne, IV, and Mommsen, bk. iii, chs. xi-xiii, and bk. iv, first part of ch. ii. A good brief account may be found in Beesly's *The Gracchi*, opening pages, or in Merivale's *Fall of the Roman Republic*, ch. i. The more important matters are given full references in the footnotes.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — The Second Sicilian Slave War, and the revolt of Spartacus.

REVIEW EXERCISE. — General topical review of the development of the government of Rome, from 510 to 146 B.C.

¹ Mommsen, III, 382-387, and Freeman's *Story of Sicily*.

III. THE GRACCHI: ATTEMPTS AT PEACEFUL REFORM.

A. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, 133 B.C.

420. Attempts at Reform before the Time of the Gracchi. — The evils that have been described had not come upon Rome without being observed by thoughtful men. The chief needs of the state may be summed up under two heads: (1) the government needed to be taken from the incapable senatorial class and given to some organization that would more truly represent all classes in the state; (2) the poor in the cities needed to be restored to the land as farmers. No attempt had been made to accomplish either of these things, but there had been one notable effort at another kind of reform.

This was the work of *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Cato was a Roman of the old school, — austere, upright, energetic, patriotic, but coarse and narrow. From a simple Sabine farmer, he had risen to the highest honors of the state. He had been just old enough to join the army at the beginning of the Second Punic War, in which he fought valiantly for sixteen years from Trasimene to Zama; and, half a century later, as we saw (§ 387), he had a chief part in bringing on the Third Punic War. Thus his long public life covered the period of chief Roman decline.

Cato longed ardently to restore "the good old days" of Roman virtue and simplicity. As censor (195 B.C.) he tried in a way to bring back those days. He repressed luxury sternly, and struck from the Senate some of the proudest names because of private vices. But he had no far-reaching views. He spent his force foolishly in fighting the new Hellenic culture and the rising standard of comfort. He did not touch the real evils, or suggest any remedy for their causes. Indeed, instead of himself remaining a yeoman farmer, like the Manius (§ 351) whom he took for his model, he became the owner of great plantations worked by slave labor.¹

¹ Mommsen (III, 117 ff.) gives a charming picture of the best side of Cato. The student should read Plutarch's "Cato" in the *Lives*.

For a time there seemed one other chance. After 146 B.C. Scipio Africanus the Younger was the foremost man in Rome. He was liberal, virtuous, cultivated. Many looked hopefully to him for reform. But though more of a statesman than Cato, he lacked Cato's courage. He shrank from a struggle with his order; and when he laid down his censorship, he betrayed his despair by praying the gods, not in the usual words, to *enlarge* the glory of Rome, but to *preserve* the state.

Some slight reforms there were. For instance, the ballot was introduced into the Assembly, so that the rich might have less chance for bribery.¹ But such measures did not reach the root of the disease of the state. For this the older statesmen were too narrow or too timid; and the great attempt fell to two youths, the Gracchi brothers, throbbing with the fire of genius and with noble enthusiasm.

421. Tiberius Gracchus² was still under thirty at his death. He was one of the brilliant circle of young Romans about Scipio. His father had been a magnificent aristocrat. His mother, *Cornelia*, a daughter of the older Africanus, is as famous for her fine culture and noble nature as for being the "Mother of the Gracchi." Tiberius himself was early distinguished in war and marked by his uprightness and energy. This was the first man to strike at the root of the economic, moral, and political decay of Italy, by trying to rebuild the yeoman class.

422. The Agrarian³ **Proposals of Tiberius.** — Tiberius obtained the tribuneship for the year 133, and at once brought forward an agrarian law. This was simply the land clause of the old Licinian law (§ 322) in a gentler but more effective form. That ancient enactment had become obsolete, and the public land had again fallen into the hands of the wealthy, who paid no return for its use. The proposal of Gracchus was threefold.

¹ On these reforms, read Mommsen, III, 299 ff.

² Read Beesly's *The Gracchi*, 23-37. See Mommsen, III, 320-333, for a less cordial view.

³ "Agrarian" refers to land, especially agricultural land; from Latin *ager*.

a. Each holder of state land was to surrender all that he held in excess of 500 jugera (cf. § 322), receiving in return absolute title to the five hundred left him.¹

b. The land so reclaimed was to be given in small holdings (30 jugera each) to poor applicants, so as to re-create a peasantry. And to make the reform lasting, these holders were to possess their land *in perpetual lease without right to sell*. In return, they were to pay a small rent to the state.

c. To provide for changes, and to keep the law from being neglected, there was to be a *permanent board* of three commissioners to superintend the reclaiming and distributing of land.

423. The Struggle. — Gracchus urged his law with fiery eloquence.

"The wild beasts of Italy have their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for her are without homes or settled habitations. Their generals do but mock them when they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchers and the gods of their hearths; for among such numbers there is perhaps not one who has an ancestral altar. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world without having a sod to call their own."

The Senate of course opposed the proposal, and the wealthy men, who had so long enjoyed what did not belong to them, cried out that the measure was confiscation and robbery. Tiberius brought the question directly before the tribes, as he had the right to do. The Senate fell back upon a favorite device. It put up one of the other tribunes, Octavius, to forbid a vote. After many pleadings, Tiberius resorted to a revolutionary measure. In spite of his colleague's veto, he put to the Assembly the question whether he or Octavius should be deposed; and when the vote was given unanimously against Octavius, Tiberius had him dragged forth from his seat.² Then the great law was passed.

¹ This was a mild measure, and neither confiscation nor demagogism. It was further provided that an old holder might keep 250 jugera more if he had a son, and still another 250 if he had two sons.

² On the morality of this act, cf. Beesly's *The Gracchi*, 32, 33, and Mommsen, III, 323 and 330.

424. Further Conflict ; Gracchus murdered. — At this time the last king of Pergamum, by will, left his treasure to the Roman people. Gracchus proposed to divide the money among the new peasantry to stock their farms. He also desired to extend Roman citizenship to all Italy. The Senate accused him of trying to make himself king (cf. § 312), and threatened to try him at the end of his term. To complete his work, and possibly to save himself, Gracchus asked for reëlection. The first two tribes voted for him, and then the Senate, having failed in other methods, declared his candidacy illegal.¹ The election was adjourned to the next day, and the end was not difficult to foresee.

Tiberius put on mourning and commended his infant son to the protection of the people. It was harvest time, and the farmers were absent from the Assembly, which was left largely to the worthless city rabble. On the following day the election was again forbidden. A riot broke out, and the more violent of the senators and their friends, charging the undecided mob, put it to flight and murdered Gracchus — a patriot-martyr worthy of the company of the Cassius, Manlius, and Maelius of earlier days. Some three hundred of his adherents also were killed and thrown into the Tiber. Rome, in all her centuries of stern, sober, patient, constitutional strife, had never witnessed such a day before.

425. The Work of Gracchus lived. — Partisanship ran so high that the whole aristocratic party approved the outrage, rather than abandon their champions to popular vengeance. Accordingly the Senate declared the murder an act of patriotism, and followed up the reformer's partisans with mock trials and persecutions (fastening one of them, says Plutarch, in a chest with vipers).

It did not dare, however, to interfere with the great law that had been carried. A consul for the year 132 inscribed on a monument, that he was the first who had installed farmers in

¹ Read Beesly, 35.

place of shepherds on the public domains. The land commission (composed of the friends of Tiberius) did its work zealously, and in 125 B.C. the citizen list of Rome had increased by eighty thousand farmers. The movement certainly constituted a vast and healthful reform.¹

If it could have been kept up vigorously, it might have turned the dangerous rabble into sturdy husbandmen, and so abolished Rome's chief danger. But of course to reclaim so much land from old holders led to many bitter disputes as to titles; and, after a few years, the Senate took advantage of this fact to abolish the commission.

B. CAIUS GRACCHUS² (123-121 B.C.).

426. Character and Aims. — Immediately after this reaction, and just nine years after his brother's death, *Caius Gracchus* took up the work. He had been a youth when Tiberius was assassinated; now he was Rome's greatest orator, — a dauntless, resolute, clear-sighted man, long brooding on personal revenge and on patriotic reform. Tiberius, he declared, appeared to him in a dream to call him to his task: "Why do you hesitate? You cannot escape your doom and mine — to live for the people and to die for them!"

Tiberius had striven only for economic reform. Caius saw the necessity of buttressing that work by political reform. Apparently he meant to overthrow the Senate and to set up a new constitution something like that of Athens under Pericles.

427. Political Measures, to win Allies. — The city mob Gracchus secured by a *corn law* providing for the sale of grain to the poor in the capital at half the regular market price, the other half to be made up from the public treasury.³ Perhaps

¹ Read Mommsen, III, 334-335, or Beesly, 39.

² Mommsen, bk. iv, ch. iii; Beesly, 42-65; Ihne, bk. vii, ch. iv; Plutarch's *Life*.

³ Cf. Mommsen, III, 344, and Beesly, 48-50, for differing views.

he regarded this as a necessary poor-law, and as a compensation for the public lands that still remained in the hands of the wealthy. It did not pauperize the poor, since such distributions by private patrons were already customary on a vast scale. It simply took this charity into the hands of the state. If Gracchus' other measures could have been carried through, the need for such charity would have been removed; but, however well-meant, this measure certainly introduced a vicious system of *legislative bribery*, where in the end the well-meaning patriot was sure to be outbidden by the reckless demagogue. For the moment, however, it won the Assembly.

The equites also Caius won, by taking the law courts from the Senate to place in their hands—a measure that did something, perhaps, to secure better government in the provinces. (Cf. § 416.)

428. Economic Reform.—Then, with these political alliances to back him, Caius took up his brother's work. The land commission was reestablished, and its work was extended to the founding of Roman colonies in distant parts of Italy. Still more important,—Caius *introduced the plan of Roman colonization outside Italy*. He sent six thousand colonists from Rome and other Italian towns to the waste site of Carthage; and he planned other such foundations. *The colonists were to keep full Roman citizenship.*

If this statesmanlike measure had been allowed to work, it would not only have provided for the landless poor of Italy; it would also have Romanized the provinces rapidly, and have broken down the unhappy distinctions between them and Italy.

429. Personal Rule; an Uncrowned "Tyrant."—Then Caius turned to attack senatorial government. To a great degree *he drew all authority into his own hands*. By various laws he took away power from the Senate, and himself ruled in its place. He had tried to provide against his brother's fate by a law expressly legalizing reelection to the tribuneship, and he served two terms, virtually as dictator.

"With unrivaled activity," says Mommsen, "he concentrated the most varied and complicated functions in his own person. He himself watched over the distribution of grain, selected jurymen, founded colonies in person, notwithstanding that his magistracy legally chained him to the city, regulated highways and concluded business contracts, led the discussions of the Senate, settled the consular elections; in short, he accustomed the people to the fact that one man was foremost in all things, and threw the lax and lame administration of the Senate into the shade by the vigor and dexterity of his personal rule."¹

430. Attempt to extend Citizenship to Italians: Fall of Caius.

—Caius also pressed earnestly for political reform outside the city. He proposed, wisely and nobly, to confer full citizenship upon the Latins, and Latin rights upon all Italy. But the tribes, jealous of any extension of their privileges to others, were quite ready to desert him on these matters.

The Senate seized its chance. It set on another tribune, Drusus, to outbid Caius by promises never meant to be kept. Drusus proposed to found twelve large colonies at once in Italy and to do away with the small rent paid by the new peasantry. There was no land for these colonies, but the mob thoughtlessly followed the treacherous demagogue and abandoned its true leader. When Gracchus stood for a third election he was defeated.

Now that he was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribuneship (§ 308), the nobles, headed by the consul (a ferocious personal enemy), were bent upon Caius' ruin. The chance was soon found. The Senate tried to undo the law for the colony at Carthage. This attempt caused many of the old supporters of Caius to come into the Assembly from the country. Remembering the fate of Tiberius, some of them came in arms. The nobles cried out that this meant a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The consul called the organized senatorial party to arms, offered for the head of Gracchus its weight in gold,² and charged the unorganized and unprepared crowd.

¹ See Mommsen, III, 355-361, as to the constitutional designs of Caius.

² This is the first instance of head money in Roman civil strife.

A bloody battle followed in the streets. Gracchus, taking no part in the conflict himself, was slain. Three thousand of his adherents were afterward strangled in prison.

431. Overthrow of the Work of the Two Brothers. — The victorious Senate struck hard. It resumed its sovereign rule. The proposed colonies were abandoned, and the great land reform itself was undone. *The peasants were permitted to sell their land, and the commission was abolished.* The old economic decay began again, and soon the work of the Gracchi was but a memory.

Even that memory the Senate tried to proscribe. Men were forbidden to speak of the brothers, and Cornelia was not allowed to wear mourning for her sons. One lesson, however, had been taught: the Senate had drawn the sword; and when a Marius or a Caesar should attempt again to take up the work of the Gracchi, he would appear as a military master, to sweep away the wretched oligarchy with the sword or to receive its cringing submission.

“The net result of the work [of Caius] was to demonstrate the hopelessness of any genuine democracy. . . . The two Gracchi, . . . in their hope to regenerate Italy, were drawn on to attempt a political revolution, whose nature they did not realise. . . . They were not revolutionists, but they were the fathers of revolution. They aimed at no tyranny, but they were the precursors of the principate [Empire].” — HOW AND LEIGH.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ancient writers: Plutarch, *Lives* (“Tiberius Gracchus” and “Caius Gracchus”); Appian, *Civil Wars* (opening). Modern writers: Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*; Mommsen, bk. iv, chs. ii, iii; Ihne, V; Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, ch. i; How and Leigh, 331-359.

IV. MILITARY RULE: MARIUS AND SULLA, 106-78 B.C.

432. The Biographical Character of Roman History in the Last Century of the Republic. — In earlier times Rome had been greater than any of her citizens. But after 146, the history of the Republic is summed up in a series of biographies; and soon the only question is, which man will finally seize the sover-

eighty. This phase of the Roman Republic really begins with the younger Africanus and closes with Julius Caesar; but it is with Marius and Sulla (halfway between) that the new character first shows without disguise, because these men were the first to carry political measures by the use of the army.

433. The War with Jugurtha: New Leaders.—For some twenty years after the murder of the Gracchi, the Senate's misrule was undisturbed. But a prolonged fourteen-year border war in Africa again revealed in glaring colors its corruption and incapacity, and brought military masters to the front.

Jugurtha, grandnephew of Massinissa (§ 387),—brave, crafty, cruel,—had made himself king of Numidia by the assassination of a series of princes dependent upon Rome. He bribed Roman investigating commissioners; bought a consul who had been sent to attack him; and, being summoned to Rome after massacring thousands of Italians and Romans in Africa, he bought his acquittal from the Senate itself. But an indignant tribune brought the matter directly before the tribes and so stirred their indignation that war at last was prosecuted in earnest.

Its progress revealed the utter corruption of the army, but it finally called out two great captains. One was the rude soldier *Marius*, son of a Volscian day laborer, who had risen from the ranks, and who by the votes of the people, without having been praetor,¹ was made consul to prosecute the war; the other was his aristocratic lieutenant, *Sulla*.

By skill and good fortune, and by a daring exploit of Sulla's, Marius was able to bring the war to a close during his year of office. Jugurtha was captured. Marius was given a splendid triumph² at Rome (January 1, 104 B.C.). With characteristic Roman cruelty the captive king was dragged through the streets in chains at the wheel of his conqueror's chariot, and then cast into an underground dungeon to starve.

¹ This was contrary to law, see § 409. Special report: the Jugurthine War.

² See § 326, note.

434. The Invasion by the Cimbri and Teutones. — Meantime a storm had broken upon the northern frontier, where Rome now had need of Marius. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, two German peoples, migrating slowly with families, flocks, and goods, in search of new homes in the fertile south, had reached the passes of the Alps in the year 113. These barbarians were huge, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes, and they terrified the smaller Italians by their size, their terrific shouts, and their savage customs.

A Roman consul who tried to entrap the strangers treacherously, was defeated and slain; but, leaving Italy on one side for the time, the Germans crowded into Gaul. There they harried the native tribes at will, and, after defeating four more Roman armies (the last with slaughter that recalled the day of Cannae), they finally threatened Italy itself. At the same time the Second Slave War had broken out in Sicily (§ 417).

435. Marius the "Saviour of Rome." — Rome had found a general none too soon. Marius was just finishing his work in Africa. In his absence he was reëlected consul — despite the law, which required a candidate to appear in person and which forbade an immediate reëlection in any case — and was intrusted with the defense of Italy. Happily, the Germans gave him time, by turning for two years more into Spain.

Marius used the interval in raising and drilling troops, and in reorganizing the military system. Then, in the summer of 102, at *Aquæ Sextiæ* (Aix), in southern Gaul, he annihilated the two hundred thousand warriors of the Teutones, with all their women and children, in a huge massacre; and the next summer he destroyed in like manner the vast horde of the Cimbri, who had penetrated to the Po. The first German nation to attack Rome had been given graves in her soil, and Italy was saved for five hundred years.¹

436. Civil Disorder: Retirement of Marius. — In defiance of the constitution, Marius had been reëlected consul each year

¹ On this first German attack, see Mommsen, bk. iv, ch. v, or Ihne, V, ch. ix.

while the peril lasted. Thus he had held the consulship five successive years. To some Romans this began to look like a military monarchy. Perhaps it would have been well for Rome if Marius had made himself king. Or, had he been enough of a statesman, he might have used his great power to secure the reforms needed by the Republic. He did not try to do either of these things.

Marius was given another consulship; but he was as incapable in politics as he was great in war. The leaders of the popular party tried to secure his aid for reforms like those of the Gracchi. He joined this party, but failed to act with decision. The feeling between Democrats and Aristocrats ran high, and finally broke into street war (December, 100 B.C.). Marius looked on while his Radical friends were massacred. Then he found himself in disgrace with both parties; and in chagrin he retired for some years into obscurity. Meantime another war brought to the front the other great general of the time, the champion of the Aristocrats (§ 435).

437. The Social War.—There had grown up in the Senate a small liberal party bent upon reform. Their leader was the tribune *Drusus*, the son of the *Drusus* who had opposed the Gracchi. In the year 91, *Drusus* took up the work of the ancient enemies of his house, and proposed to extend citizenship to the Italians. He was assassinated; and the nobles carried a law threatening with death any one who should renew the proposal. Then the Italians rose in arms and set up a republic of their own.

Once more Rome fought for life, surrounded by a ring of foes. The *Social War* (war with the *Socii*, or "Allies") was as dangerous a contest as the imperial city ever waged (91-88 B.C.). Two things saved her. (1) She wisely divided her foes by granting citizenship to all who would at once lay down their arms. (2) *Sulla* showed a magnificent generalship, outshining *Marius* as the saviour of Rome.¹

¹ *Marius* served with credit, and his generalship seems to have been as successful as ever; but he was disliked by the Senate and was suspected by all of favoring the demands of the Italians.

438. All Italy enters the Roman State.—The “Allies” were crushed, but their cause was victorious. When the war was over, Rome gradually incorporated into the Roman state all Italy south of the Po, raising the number of citizens from about four hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand. The cities all became municipia (§ 336), and their burgesses secured the full Roman citizenship with enrollment in the tribes. By most of these new citizens the privilege of voting in the Assembly at Rome could rarely be exercised: but the movement was a great advance in the world’s history and the most notable reform in the last century of the Republic.

439. Civil War between Marius and Sulla, 88 B.C.—The Italian “Allies” who joined Rome in the war had all been placed in eight tribes. Thus, at most, they could influence only eight out of thirty-five votes, though they made half the citizen body. Now that more Italians were to be enrolled, the popular party proposed to remedy this injustice and to distribute all the new additions among the thirty-five tribes. This attempt was the occasion for the brooding civil war to break forth.

The tribune *Sulpicius*, a friend of Drusus, carried a law providing for the distribution of the new citizens. In trying to prevent it, Sulla provoked a riot, from which he himself barely escaped with his life through the aid of his rival Marius. Just before this, the Senate had appointed Sulla to manage a war against *Mithridates* the Great, king of Pontus. Now, fearing a military revolution, Sulpicius induced the tribes to give this command to Marius instead. Sulla fled to his army at Capua; he declared the decree of the tribes illegal; and, though all but one of his officers left him, he marched upon Rome. *For the first time a Roman magistrate used a regular army to reduce the capital.* After a brief but furious resistance, the Democrats under Marius were scattered, and Sulla became the military master of the city.

For the moment the usurper showed much moderation. He repealed the Sulpician laws, executed a few Democratic

leaders,¹ set a price upon the head of Marius, tried to buttress the Senate by hasty laws, and then departed for the East, where Roman dominion was rapidly crumbling.

440. Victory of Cinna and the Marians : the Massacre. — With the departure of Sulla his aristocratic reaction collapsed. The Democratic party rallied to undo his legislation. The Aristocrats, it is true, surrounded the Assembly with armed forces, and ruthlessly cut down ten thousand men, until the streets ran with blood. But the Democratic leader *Cinna* escaped, was welcomed by the Italians and the country tribes, and returned to besiege the city. Marius came back from his adventurous exile,² — a grim, vengeful, repulsive old man, with some thousands of freed slaves for his bodyguard. Rome was captured; the gates were closed; and for four days and nights the senatorial party were hunted down and butchered by the desperadoes of Marius, despite the indignant pleadings of other Democratic leaders, like the generous *Sertorius*.

Marius and Cinna proclaimed themselves consuls, *without even the form of an election*. They then outlawed Sulla, repealed his legislation, and restored the Sulpician law regarding the Italians. In the midst of his orgy of triumph Marius died. Then Sertorius with regular troops stamped out the band of slave assassins, but Cinna remained political master of Rome for four years.

441. Sulla in the East ; the War with Mithridates. — For thirty years the indolent Senate had watched dangers growing in the East. Three barbarian kingdoms had appeared there, — in Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia, — all encroaching ruthlessly upon the protectorates and allies of Rome.

Finally Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized the Roman province of Asia. To guard against a Roman restoration, he gave secret orders that all Italians in the province (men, women, and

¹ The head of Sulpicius, with grim irony, was set up on the rostrum in the Forum, whence his lips had so often swayed the Assembly.

² Special report: stories of Marius' hairbreadth escapes while in exile.

children) should be put to death, and on the appointed day the order was carried out so faithfully that at least eighty thousand were massacred. Next, Mithridates attacked Macedonia and Greece, where he found many of the people eager to throw off Roman misgovernment. Athens, in particular, welcomed him as a deliverer.

This was the peril that had summoned Sulla from Rome. Outlawed by the Democrats at home, without supplies, with only a small army, Sulla restored Roman authority in the East in a series of brilliant campaigns, while Cinna lorded it in Italy. Then he returned to glut his private vengeance and restore the nobles to power (83 B.C.).



A COIN OF SULLA, struck in Athens. Athene and her Owl.

442. The New Civil War. — Italy was almost a unit for the Democrats, but Sulla's veterans made him victor after a desolating two years' struggle. Toward the close of the war the Samnites rose, for the last time, under another Pontius, and marched straight upon helpless Rome, "to burn the den of the wolves that have so long harried Italy," and the city was barely saved by Sulla's forced march and desperate victory at the *Colline Gate*.

443. The Rule of Sulla. — Sulla's victory virtually left him king: indeed, at his suggestion, the Senate declared him *permanent dictator*¹ (81 B.C.). His first work was to crush the Democratic party by systematic massacre. Lists of names were

¹ The old constitutional office of dictator had become obsolete; the new permanent dictatorship of Sulla, and later of Caesar, is merely a name for a new monarchy.

posted publicly day by day, and any desperado was invited to slay the proscribed men at \$2000 a head. Sulla's friends were given free permission to include private enemies in the lists. Debtors murdered their creditors. The wealth of the proscribed was confiscated, and many a man's only offense was the possession of a desired property. "Unhappy wretch that I am," cried one gentleman who had stepped up unsuspectingly to look at the list and who found his own name there; "my villa pursues me!"

When entreated even by the servile Senate to let it be known when he would be through with such slaughter, Sulla characteristically replied that he did not recall any more enemies just then, but that those whom he had forgotten would have to be included in some future proscription. Forty-seven hundred Romans of wealth and position perished, and even worse massacres followed over Italy. At Praeneste alone twelve thousand men were put to death in one day. Sulla thought he had stamped out the embers of the Marian party. Only Sertorius, the noblest Roman of the age, held Spain for the Democrats, and the youth Julius Caesar,¹ a nephew of Marius' wife and the husband of Cinna's daughter, was in hiding in the mountains.

444. Restoration of Senatorial Rule. — Sulla next set about reëstablishing the oligarchic state. He enlarged the numbers of the Senate to about six hundred, and by law made all officers dependent upon it.² The tribuneship (whence had come all the popular movements) was restricted: no tribune could bring any proposal before the tribes, or even address them, without the Senate's permission.³ By various other changes the part of the people in the government was weakened.

¹ Sulla had had Caesar (a boy of seventeen) in his power and had meant to put him to death. Finally, at the entreaties of friends, he spared him, exclaiming, however, "There is many a Marius hidden in that young fop."

² On the Sullan Constitution, see Mommsen, IV, 98-139 and 145-150.

³ The office was also made undesirable by the provision that a man who had held it could never afterward hold another political office.

445. "Sulla the Fortunate": Character and Place in History. — After a three years' absolutism, Sulla abdicated, — to go back to his debaucheries, and to die in peace shortly after as a private citizen. He is a monstrous enigma in history — dauntless, crafty, treacherous, dissolute, licentious, refined, absolutely unfeeling and selfish, and with a mocking cynicism that spiced his conversation and conduct. He called himself the favorite of the Goddess of Chance, and was fond of the title "Sulla the Fortunate." No other civilized man has ever so organized murder. Few have had so clear a grasp of ends and made such unscrupulous use of means.

Apparently Sulla believed sincerely in senatorial government; but he had striven against his age, and his work hardly outlived his mortal body.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ancient writers: Plutarch, *Lives* ("Marius" and "Sulla"); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, opening chapters; Sallust, *The Jugurthine War*. (There are good extracts from all these writers in Munro's *Source Book*.)

Modern writers: Mommsen, bk. iv, chs. vi, vii, ix, x, and bk. v, chs. i-iii and viii-xi; Ihne, V (later chapters); Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*; Freeman's *Sulla* (in *Historical Essays*, 2d series); Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, chs. i-v; How and Leigh, 360-449.

V. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78-49 B.C.

446. General View. — The history of the next thirty years — to the rule of Caesar — has two phases. (1) Internally it is a question as to what leader should become master. (2) Externally it is marked by Pompey's conquests and his organization of Roman dominion in the East to the Euphrates, and by Caesar's like work in the West to the Rhine and the North Sea. The rivalry for supreme power at Rome narrowed down to these two men, and happily victory fell to Caesar, incomparably the abler and nobler of the two.¹

A. PERIOD OF POMPEY'S LEADERSHIP, 78-59 B.C.

447. Pompey and Crassus. — By the death of Sulla two of his officers were left in special prominence, — *Pompey* and

¹ Reread § 349, and notice the application of the second paragraph in it.

Crassus. Both were regarded as belonging to the oligarchic party. Crassus was not only a soldier, but also a scheming man of business. He had built up the greatest fortune in Rome, largely by the purchase of confiscated property during the Sullan proscriptions. "Pompey the Great," with more honesty and good nature, was a man of mediocre ability — vain, sluggish, cautious to timidity, without broad views or magnanimous feelings. Still he easily held Crassus in check, and was always a possible king of Rome until the rise of Caesar twenty years later.

448. Sertorius in Spain. — During the rule of Sulla, Spain had been the one remaining refuge of the Democrats. While that party had been in power (83 B.C.), one of their leaders, Sertorius (§ 438), had been sent to Spain as governor. He had refused to recognize the usurpation of Sulla at Rome, and, aided by the native Spaniards, he had maintained himself against the officers Sulla sent to drive him out. He proved a great general and a broad-minded statesman. His rule was gentle and just, and the Spaniards were devoted to him. In the brief time allowed him, he did much to advance the prosperity of the province and to introduce there the best elements of Roman civilization.¹

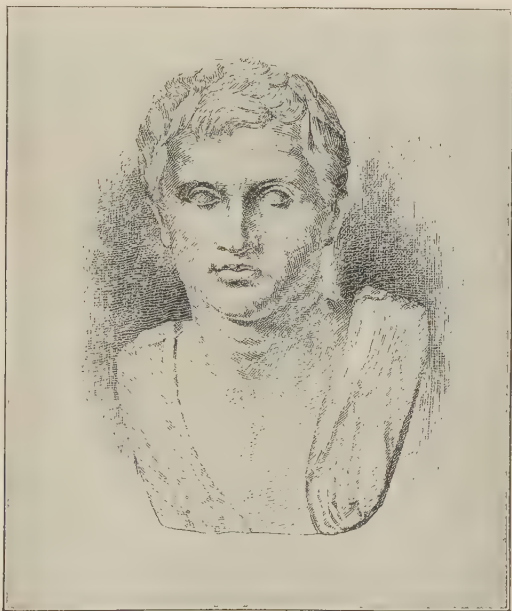
449. Pompey's First Chance at the Crown in Rome. — Sulla had made it plain that the path to the throne lay through a position as proconsul in a rich province for a term of years, with a war that would call for a large army. Pompey had not yet held any of the offices leading to a proconsular appointment;² but, upon Sulla's death, he compelled the Senate to send him to Spain against Sertorius, with an indefinite term and absolute powers (77 B.C.). After some years of warfare, Sertorius was assassinated, and then Pompey quickly reduced Spain to obedience. In the year 71, he returned triumphantly to Italy. Meantime had come the rising of Spar-

¹ Special report: anecdotes of Sertorius. Read Plutarch's *Life*.

² It was customary to give such places only to ex-consuls or ex-praetors.

tacus (§ 419). This revolt had just been crushed by Crassus, though Pompey arrived in time to cut to pieces a few thousand of the fugitives, and to claim a large share of the credit.

Thus there were two generals in Italy, each at the head of a victorious army. The senatorial oligarchy feared and disliked both leaders, and foolishly refused them the honor



POMPEY THE GREAT. — A bust in the Spada Palace in Rome.

of a triumph. This led the generals to join their forces and ally themselves with the Democratic leaders. Their armies encamped at the gates of the city, and the two generals easily obtained the desired triumphs and their election to the consulship. Then, to pay the Democrats, they undid the chief work of their old master, Sulla, by restoring the tribunes and censors with their ancient powers.

Sovereignty was now within the reach of Pompey. He longed for it, but did not dare stretch out his hand to grasp it;¹ and the politicians skillfully played off the two military chiefs against each other until they agreed to disband their armies simultaneously. The crisis was past. Pompey, who had expected still to be the first man in Rome, found himself of very little account among the senatorial talkers, and, for some years, sulked in retirement.

450. Pompey's Second Chance; Roman Expansion in the East.—

In 67, military danger called Pompey again to the front. The navy of Rome had been allowed to fall to utter decay, and swarms of pirates again terrorized the seas. They even set up a formidable state, with its headquarters on the rocky coasts of Cilicia, and negotiated with kings as equals. They paralyzed trade along the great Mediterranean highway. They even dared to ravage the coasts of Italy, and carry off the inhabitants for slaves. Finally they threatened Rome itself with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets.

To put down these plunderers, Pompey was given supreme command for three years in the Mediterranean and in all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He received also unlimited authority over all the resources of the realm. Assembling vast fleets, he swept the seas in a three months' campaign.

Then his command was extended indefinitely in order that he might carry on war against Mithridates of Pontus, who for several years had again been threatening Roman power in Asia Minor.² Pompey was absent on this mission five years—a really glorious period in his career, and one that proved the resources and energies of the commonwealth unexhausted if only a respectable leader were found to direct them. He waged successful wars, crushed dangerous rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, annexed many wide provinces, and

¹ Mommsen, IV, 382-385.

² This was the Third Mithridatic War. Sulla had waged the First. The Second, which came shortly after the First, was not very important.

extended Roman control to the Euphrates.¹ He then organized these provinces, restored order, founded cities, and deposed and set up kings in the dependent states. When he returned to Italy, in 62, he was the leading figure in the world.

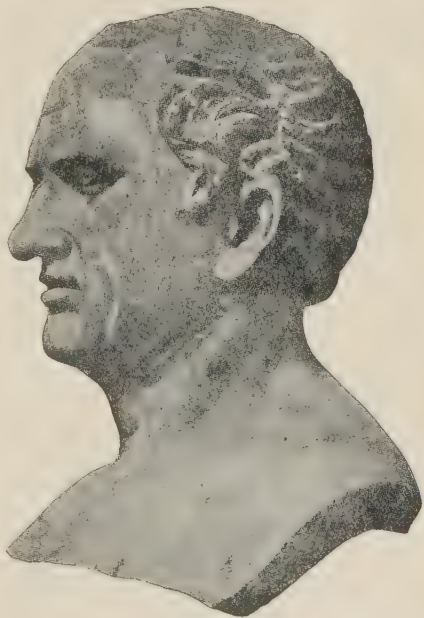
In his triumph, three hundred and twenty-two princes walked captive behind his chariot, and triumphal banners proclaimed that he had conquered twenty-one kings and twelve millions of people, and doubled the revenues of the state. Again the crown was within his grasp; again he let it slip, expecting it to be thrust upon him; and again he was to rue his indecision.

451. New Leaders in Pompey's Absence. —

Meantime, new actors had risen to prominence. Three deserve special mention, because they represent three distinct forces.

Cato the Younger, great-grandson of *Cato the Censor*, was a brave,

honest, bigoted Aristocrat, bent upon preserving the oligarchic Republic. *Cicero*, the greatest orator of Rome, was a refined scholar and a representative of the wealthy middle class. He desired reform, and at first he inclined toward the Democratic party; but, alarmed by their violence and rudeness, he



CICERO. — The Vatican bust.

¹ At this time Syria became a Roman province, and the Jews a dependent kingdom.

finally joined the conservatives, in the idle hope of restoring the old republican constitution.¹

Neither of these two men deserve the name of statesman. "Both," says Merivale, fitly, "were blinded to real facts — Cato by his ignorance, Cicero by his learning." The third man was to tower immeasurably above these and all other Romans. *Caius Julius Cæsar* was the chief Democratic leader, and perhaps the greatest genius of all history. He was of an old patrician family that claimed divine descent through Aeneas and his son Iulus (Julius). His youth had been dissolute, but bold; and he had refused with quiet dignity to put away his wife (the daughter of Cinna) at Sulla's order, though Pompey had not hesitated to obey a like command. In Pompey's absence he had served as quaestor and praetor, and he strove ardently to reorganize the Democratic party. In public speeches he ventured to praise Marius and Cinna as champions of the people; and in the year 64, by a daring stroke, he again set up at the Capitol the trophies of Marius, which had been torn down in the rule of Sulla.

452. The Conspiracy of Catiline. — Caesar had tried also to build up some counterpoise to Pompey's power, by securing a province in Egypt; but his hopes had been dashed by a strange incident. One of the Democratic agitators was the profligate *Catiline*. This man organized a reckless conspiracy of bankrupt and ruined adventurers, like himself. He planned to murder the consuls and the senators, confiscate the property of the rich, and make himself tyrant. This conspiracy was detected and crushed by Cicero, the consul (63 B.C.). The movement was not one of the Democratic party proper. It belonged to the disreputable extremists who always attach themselves to a liberal party; but the collapse reacted upon the whole popular party, and Caesar's plans were necessarily laid

¹ Cicero has been bitterly accused of cowardly and shifty politics. Momm-
sen is very hard upon him. Warde-Fowler's *Caesar* is sympathetic in its
treatment. There is an excellent statement in Pelham, 247-252. For fuller
study, see Davidson's *Cicero* and Forsyth's *Cicero*.

aside. The same year, his career seemed closed by Pompey's return, and he was glad to withdraw from Italy for a while to the governorship of Spain, which at that time was not an important province.

B. THE RISE OF CAESAR.

453. Formation of the "First Triumvirate": Caesar's Consulship. — To the amazement of all parties, Pompey dismissed his veterans and came to Rome as a private citizen. Then the jealous and stupid Senate again drove him into the arms of the Democrats. It refused to give his soldiers the lands he had promised them for pay, and delayed even to ratify his political arrangements in the East.

For two years Pompey fretted in vain. Caesar seized the chance and formed a coalition between Pompey, Crassus, and himself. This alliance is sometimes called the "First Triumvirate."¹ Caesar furnished the brains and secured the fruits. He became consul (59 B.C.) and first set about securing Pompey's measures. The Senate refused even to consider them. Caesar laid them directly before the Assembly. A senatorial tribune interposed his veto, with the support of the other consul, Bibulus. Caesar looked on calmly while a mob of Sulla's veterans drove the two from the Assembly. To delay proceedings, Bibulus announced that he would consult the omens. According to religious law, all action should have ceased until the result was known; Caesar serenely disregarded this antiquated check, and carried the measures. Next he demolished the remains of Sulla's constitution. He had stepped into the first place in Rome as the Democratic leader.

454. Caesar in Gaul: New Expansion in the West. — At the close of his consulship, with Pompey's aid, Caesar received command of the Cisalpine and Transalpine² Gallic provinces for five years as proconsul.

¹ For a caution regarding this term, see § 469, note.

² In 121, the southern part of Gaul had at last been given the form of a province (§ 386, close). It was commonly known as *The Province* (modern, *Provence*).

The appointment was one of the happy accidents that influence all history. For the next ten years Caesar abandoned



JULIUS CAESAR. — The British Museum bust.

Italy for the supreme work that opened to him beyond the Alps. He found the Province threatened by two great military invasions: the whole people of the Helvetii were migrating from their Alpine homes in search of more fertile lands, and a great German nation, under the king Ariovistus, was already encamped in Gaul. The Gauls themselves had adopted some civilization, but they were distracted by feuds and grievously oppressed by their disorderly chieftains.

Caesar saw the danger and grasped the opportunity. He levied armies hastily,

and in one summer drove back the Helvetii and annihilated the Germans. Then he seized upon the Rhine as the proper Roman frontier, and, in a series of masterly campaigns, he made all Gaul Roman, extending his expeditions even into Britain.

The story is told with incomparable lucidity in his own Commentaries.¹ Whatever we think of the morality of the

¹ Special reports: Caesar in Britain; revolt of Vercingetorix; the Druids.

conquests, they were to produce infinite good for mankind.¹ The result was twofold.

(a) The wave of German invasion was again checked, until Roman civilization had time to do its work and to prepare the way for the coming Christian church. "Let the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but they are no longer needed."

(b) A wider home for Roman civilization was won among fresh populations, unexhausted and vigorous. The map widened from the Mediterranean circle to include the shores of the North and Baltic seas. The land that Caesar made Roman (our modern France) was, next to Greece and Italy, to form down to the present time the chief instructor of Europe; while, except for this work of Caesar, "our civilization itself would have stood in hardly more intimate relation to the Romano-Greek than to Assyrian culture."²

455. The Rupture between Caesar and Pompey.—The close of the first five years of Caesar's rule in Gaul saw him easily superior to his colleagues, and able to seize power at Rome if he chose. But it was never his way to leave the work in hand unfinished. He renewed the alliance in 55 B.C., securing the Gauls for five years more for himself, giving Spain to Pompey, and Asia to Crassus.

Crassus soon perished in battle with the Parthians³ (a huge, barbaric empire, then reaching from the Euphrates to the Indus); and it became more and more apparent that the question whether Caesar or Pompey was to rule at Rome

¹ Says John Fiske, "We ought to be thankful to Caesar every day that we live." Read Fiske's *American Political Ideas*, 108-113, and Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, III, 45-46 and 174-176, for their justification of wars with savages as "the most ultimately righteous of all wars." The justification of Caesar's conquests in Gaul and Britain rests upon much the same basis as does the white man's occupation of the American continents. The student should compare the Roman possessions after these conquests of Pompey and Caesar, east and west, with the territory as it stood before them. Compare the map on page 348 with that following page 422.

² Read Mommsen, V, 100-102, for an admirable statement.

³ Special report: Crassus' campaign.

could not be long postponed. Pompey, in his jealousy of his more brilliant rival, drew nearer to the Senate again, and was finally adopted by that terrified body as their champion. *He was made sole consul, and at the same time his military commands abroad were continued to him.* The Aristocrats planned to destroy Caesar when his term of office should expire. By a series of acts, marked by vacillation and bad faith, they even tried to deprive him of his army before the settled time. When two tribunes, friendly to Caesar, vetoed this decree, they were mobbed and driven from Rome. The civil war was drawing near (§§ 456 ff.).

FOR FURTHER READING ON DIVISION V. — Mommsen, bk. v, chs. vii-ix; Merivale's *Triumvirates*; Pelham; Warde-Fowler's *Caesar*; Davidson's *Cicero*; Froude's *Caesar*; Plutarch's *Lives* ("Caesar," "Lucullus," "Crassus").

REVIEW EXERCISES ON PART IV.

1. Review by the syllabus in the table of contents.
2. Review questions prepared by class.
3. Fact drills.
 - a. *Dates.* The class, of course, continue drill on the list on page 251. Fill out the following table, and group other dates around these. Use the table of dates in the Appendix for review; note especially the relative rates of development of Greece and Rome in the several periods or centuries.

510 (?) B.C.	"	"Expulsion" of the kings.		
390	"	Sack of Rome by the Gauls.		
367	"	—	—	—
266	"	—	—	—
218	"	(Cf. 220 B.C. — Greek History.)		
146	"	—	—	—
49	"	—	—	—

- b. List of Rome's wars after 390 B.C.
- c. List of important battles.

PART V.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE (THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD).

Rome was the whole world, and all the world was Rome.

—SPENSER, *Ruins of Rome*.

Even now a sovereign who should thus hold all the lands round the Mediterranean Sea, and whose borders should be the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, would be incomparably the strongest ruler in the world. . . . As has been often pointed out, when Rome ruled she was not only the greatest, but practically the only Power of which the statesman and the philosopher took any cognisance.

—HODGKIN, in *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898, p. 53.

Republican Rome had little to do either by precept or example with modern life; imperial Rome, everything. —STILLÉ, *Studies*, 17.



CHAPTER I.

FOUNDING THE EMPIRE: JULIUS AND AUGUSTUS, 49 B.C.-14 A.D.

I. THE FIVE YEARS OF JULIUS CAESAR.

A. THE MORAL QUESTION.

456. Monarchy at Rome Inevitable. — From the time of the Gracchi, Rome had been moving toward monarchy. *Owing to the corruption of the populace in the capital*, the tremendous power of the tribune had grown occasionally into a virtual dictatorship (as with Caius Gracchus and Sulpicius). *Owing to the growing military danger on the frontiers*, the mighty authority of a one-year proconsul of a single province was sometimes extended, by special decrees, over vaster areas for indefinite time (as with Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar). To make a

monarch needed but to unite these two powers at home and abroad in one person.

457. Monarchy Right for Rome: Caesar the Hope of the Subject Nations.—These two conditions (the corruption of the Roman citizens and the danger of barbarian invasion) made monarchy *inevitable*. A third condition made it *right*. This was *the need for better government in the provinces*,—by far the greater part of the Roman world.

Here is the merit of Caesar. There might have arisen a purely selfish despot. It is Caesar's peculiar honor that he, more than any other statesman of the time, felt this third need. He rose to power as the champion of the suffering subject-populations. He had undoubtedly come to see that in any case the only government for that age was one-man rule; the existing commonwealth he called "a body without a soul." But his special aim was to mold the distracted Roman world into a mighty empire *under equal laws*.

His faith in monarchy was not an abandonment of his earlier democracy, so much as a broadening of it. From the champion of the city mob against an aristocratic ring, he had become the champion of wide nationalities against the same narrow circle *and* the mob of a single city. Already, as proconsul, on his own authority, he had admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to all the privileges of citizenship. In the midst of arduous campaigns, he had kept up correspondence with leading provincials in all parts of the empire. He had expended vast sums in adorning and improving provincial cities, not only in his own districts of Gaul and Spain, but also in Asia and Greece. His army itself was drawn from Cisalpine Gaul, and indeed partly from Gaul beyond the Alps.

The subject nationalities were learning to look to him as their best hope against senatorial rapacity, and the great body of them wished for monarchy as the only legitimate government and the only escape from anarchy.

458. Despotism a Medicine for Rome.—To call Caesar right in his day, is not to call monarchy right in all times and places. No institution

can be judged apart from the surrounding conditions. A "Caesar" in Rome in 200 B.C. would have been a criminal; the real Caesar in 50 B.C. was a benefactor.

Moreover, to say that monarchic government was the happiest solution possible for Rome is not to call it an unmixed good. No perfectly happy outcome was possible to that Roman world, destitute of representative institutions and based on slavery. *But a despotism can get along on less virtue and intelligence than a free government can.* The evils that were finally to overthrow the Empire five centuries later had all appeared in the last century of the Republic. Ruin seemed imminent. The change to the imperial system restored prosperity and staved off the final collapse for a time as long as separates us from Luther or Columbus.

The interval was precious; for in it, under Roman protection, priceless work was to be done for humanity. *But finally the medicine of despotism exhausted its good effect;* its own poison was added to the older evils; and the collapse, threatened in the first century B.C., came in the fifth century A.D.

B. THE CIVIL WAR.

459. Caesar crosses the Rubicon : Campaign in Italy.—Caesar had finished his work in Gaul in the nick of time, and was free to meet his enemies at Rome and to take up his greater designs. He still shrank from civil war. He wished to secure the consulship, and he seems to have hoped, in that event, to accomplish reform without violence. Accordingly, he made offer after offer of conciliation, and finally agreed to all that his opponents had asked. But he was rebuffed by Pompey and the Senate, and his friends were driven from Rome. He had to choose between civil war and personal ruin.

Caesar finally chose war. He had only one legion in Cisalpine Gaul; but, in January, 49 B.C., he led it into Italy. This was an act of war, and the story goes that as he crossed the Rubicon—the little stream between his province and Italy—he exclaimed, "The die is cast!" He never again looked back. With audacious rapidity he moved directly upon the much larger forces that ponderous Pompey was mustering at leisure; and in sixty days, almost without bloodshed, he was master of the peninsula.

460. Campaigns in Spain and Greece. — Pompey was still in control of most of the empire, but Caesar held the capital and the advantage of Italy's central position. Turning to Spain, in three months he dispersed the armies of Pompey's lieutenants there; and then, following Pompey himself to Greece, in a critical campaign in 48 B.C. he became master of the world.

The decisive battle was fought at *Pharsalus* in Thessaly. Caesar's little army, living for weeks on roots and bark of trees, numbered less than half Pompey's well-provided troops. Pompey had his choice of positions, and he had never been beaten in the field. It looked for a time as though Caesar had rashly invited ruin. From this danger he snatched overwhelming victory.

The result is explained largely by the character of the opposing commanders. Pompey, despite his long career of unbroken success, was "formed for a corporal and forced to be a general"; while Caesar, though caring not at all for military glory, was one of the two or three greatest captains of all time. Almost as much the armies differed in real fighting power Warde-Fowler's summary is masterly (*Caesar*, 299):—

"On one side the disunion, selfishness, and pride of the last survivors of an ancient oligarchy, speculating before the event on the wealth or office that victory was to bring them; on the other, the absolute command of a single man, whose clear mental vision was entirely occupied with the facts and issues that lay before him that day. The one host was composed in great part of a motley crowd from Greece and the East, representing that spurious Hellenic civilization that for a century had sapped the vigor of Roman life; the other was chiefly drawn from the Gallic populations of Italy and the West, fresh, vigorous, intelligent, and united in devotion and loyalty to a leader whom not even defeat could dishearten. With Pompeius was the spirit of the past, and his failure did but answer to the failure of a decaying world; with Caesar was the spirit of the future, and his victory marks the moment when humanity could once more start hopefully upon a new line of progress."

461. The Four remaining Campaigns. — Other wars hindered the great work of reorganization. Egypt and Asia Minor each

required a campaign.¹ In Egypt, under the wiles of the voluptuous princess, *Cleopatra*, whom he made queen, Caesar seems to have wasted a few months. He partly atoned for this delay by his swift prosecution of the war in Asia against *Pharnaces*, son of Mithridates. It was this campaign that Caesar reported pithily to the Senate in the historic phrase, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Meantime, Cato and the senatorial party had raised troops in Africa and called in the aid of the Numidian king. Caesar crushed them at *Thapsus*.² Somewhat later, Pompey's sons and the last remnants of their party were overthrown in Spain at *Munda*.

C. CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.³

462. Clemency and Reconciliation.—The first effort of the new ruler went to reconcile Italy to his government. All respectable classes there had trembled when he crossed the Rubicon, expecting new Marian massacres or at least a new Catilinarian war upon property. But Caesar maintained strict order, guarded property carefully, and punished no political opponent who laid down arms.

Only one of his soldiers had refused to follow him when he decided upon civil war. Caesar sent all this officer's property after him to Pompey's camp. He continued the same policy, too, toward the nobles who left Italy to join Pompey. On the field of victory, he checked the vengeance of his soldiers, calling upon them to remember that the enemy were their fellow-citizens; and after Pharsalus he employed in the public

¹ Special report: siege of Caesar in Alexandria.

² Cato, stern Republican that he was, committed suicide at Utica, after this defeat, unwilling to survive the commonwealth. His death was admired by the ancient world, and cast an undeserved halo about the expiring Republican cause. More than anything else, it has led later writers to treat Caesar as the ambitious destroyer of his country's liberty. Read the story in Plutarch's *Life of Cato*.

³ Warde-Fowler, 326-359; How and Leigh, 539-551; Merivale, *Triumvirates*, 135, 139, 157-170; Mommsen, bk. v, ch. xi.

service any Roman of ability, without regard to the side he had fought on.

In Gaul, Caesar's warfare had been largely of the cruel kind so common in Roman annals; but his clemency in the civil war was without example. It brought its proper fruit: almost at once all classes, except a few extremists, became heartily reconciled to his government.

463. The Form of the New Monarchy.—For the most part, the old Republican *forms* continued. Except for some brief intervals, the Senate deliberated, and consuls and praetors were elected, as before. *But Caesar drew the more important powers into his own hands.* He received the *tribunician power*¹ *for life*, and likewise the authority of a *life censor*. He was already head of the state religion as *Pontifex Maximus*. Now he accepted also a *dictatorship for life* and the title of *Imperator* for himself *and his descendants*.

"Imperator" (from which comes our "Emperor") had meant simply "general," or "supreme commander." It suggested the absolute power of the master of the legions in the field. This power (the closest survival of the ancient *imperium* of the kings) was now conferred upon a civil officer in the city itself.²

Probably Caesar would have liked the title of king, since the recognized authority, and forms that went with it, would have helped to maintain order. But when he found that term still hateful to the populace, he seems to have designed this hereditary Imperatorship for the title of the new monarchy. Had he succeeded in making it strictly hereditary, the world would have been spared many of the worst evils of the next four centuries.

¹ Caesar was from an old patrician family, and so could not hold the office of tribune (§§ 308, 324). Therefore he devised this new grant of "tribunician power," to answer the purpose.

² Caesar's power really resulted from a union (§ 454) of the tribunician power in the city with the proconsular power over all the provinces. The title Imperator sums up this union, and indicates supreme authority throughout the empire.

464. General Measures of Reform.—Caesar's reforms embraced Rome, Italy, and the empire. A bankrupt law released all debtors from further obligation, if they surrendered their entire estates to their creditors,¹—and so the demoralized society was given a fresh start. A commission like that of the Gracchi to reclaim and allot public lands was put at work. Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously. In his early consulship (59 B.C.), Caesar had refounded Capua; now he did the like for Carthage and Corinth, and these noble capitals which had been criminally destroyed by the narrow jealousy of republican Rome, rose again to wealth and power. Eighty thousand landless citizens of Rome were provided for beyond seas; and by these and other means the helpless poor in the capital, dependent upon free grain,² were reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. Beyond doubt, with longer life, Caesar would have lessened the evil further.

Rigid economy was introduced into all branches of the government. Taxation was equalized and reduced. A comprehensive census was taken for all Italy, and measures were under way to extend it over the empire, as was done later by Augustus. Caesar also reformed the calendar³ and the coinage, began the codification of the irregular mass of Roman law, created a great *public* library, built a new Forum, and began vast public works in all parts of the empire.

¹ This principle has been adopted in modern legislation.

² Soon after the time of the Gracchi, it became necessary to extend the practice of *selling cheap grain to distributing free grain*, at state expense, to the populace of the capital. This became one of the chief duties of the government. To have omitted it would have meant starvation and a horrible insurrection.

³ The Roman calendar, inferior to the Egyptian, had got three months out of the way, so that the spring equinox came in June. To correct the error, Caesar made the year 46 ("the last year of confusion") consist of four hundred and forty-five days, and for the future, instituted the system of leap years, as we have it, except for a slight correction by Pope Gregory in the sixteenth century. The reform was based upon the Egyptian system (§ 17).

465 The Provinces. — The system of provincial government was made over. The old governors had been ignorant and irresponsible tyrants, with every temptation to plunder their charge. Under Caesar they became the trained servants of a stern master who looked to the welfare of the whole empire. Their authority, too, was lessened, and they were surrounded by a system of checks in the presence of other officials dependent directly upon the Imperator. The governors soon came to be paid fixed salaries, and were not allowed even to accept presents from the provincials.

Such correction of abuses was a vast gain; but even more important was Caesar's plan to put the provinces upon an equality with Italy. "*As provinces they were to disappear, to prepare for the renovated Romano-Greek nation a new and more spacious home, of whose several parts no one existed merely for the others, but all for each and each for all.*"¹ All Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated in Italy, and Roman citizenship was enormously multiplied *by the addition of whole communities in Farther Gaul, in Spain, and elsewhere.* Leading Gauls, too, were admitted to the Senate, which Caesar hoped to raise to a Grand Council really representative of the needs and feelings of the empire.

466. The Unforeseen Interruption. — In a few months Caesar had won the favor of the Roman populace, the sympathy of the respectable classes in Italy, and the enthusiastic reverence of the provinces. He was still in the prime of a strong and active manhood, and had every reason to hope for time to complete his work.

No public enemy could be raised against him within the empire. One danger there was: lurking assassins beset his path. But with characteristic dignity he quietly refused a bodyguard, declaring it better to die at any time than to live always in fear of death. And so, in the midst of preparation for expeditions against the Parthians and Germans to secure

¹ Read Mommsen, V, 415-417, also 427, 428.

the frontiers, the murderous daggers of men whom he had spared struck him down.

A group of irreconcilable nobles, led by the envious *Cassius* and the weak enthusiast *Brutus* (whom Caesar had heaped with favors), plotted to take his life. They accomplished their crime in the senate house, on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. Crowding around him, and fawning upon him as to ask a favor, the assassins suddenly drew their daggers. According to an old story, Caesar at first, calling for help, stood on his defense, and wounded *Cassius*; but when he saw the loved and trusted *Brutus*, in the snarling pack, he cried out sadly, "What! thou, too, *Brutus*!" and drawing his toga about him with calm dignity, he resisted no longer, but sank at the foot of Pompey's statue, bleeding from three and twenty stabs.



MARCUS BRUTUS. — A bust now in the Capitoline Museum.

467. Caesar's Character.—Caesar has been called the one original genius in Roman history. His gracious courtesy and unrivaled charm won all hearts, so that it is said his enemies dreaded personal interviews, lest they be drawn to his side. Toward his friends he never wearied in forbearance and love. In the civil war young *Curio*, a dashing but reckless lieutenant, lost two legions and undid much good work—to Caesar's great peril. *Curio* refused to survive his blunder, and found death on the field; but Caesar, with no word of reproach, refers to the disaster only to excuse it kindly by reference to *Curio's* youth and to "his faith in his good fortune from his former success."

No man ever excelled Caesar in quick perception of means, fertility of resource, dash in execution, or tireless activity. His opponent Cicero said of him: "He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, exactness." Numerous anecdotes are told of the many activities he could carry on at one time, and of his dictating six or more letters to as many scribes at once. Says a modern critic, "He was great as a captain, statesman, lawgiver, jurist, orator, poet, historian, grammarian, mathematician, architect."

No doubt "Caesar was ambitious." He was not a philanthropic enthusiast merely, but a broad-minded, intellectual genius, with a strong man's delight in ruling well. He saw clearly what was to do, and knew perfectly his own supreme ability to do it. Caesar and Alexander are the two great captains whose conquests have done most for civilization. But Caesar, master in war as he was, always preferred statesmanship, and was free from Alexander's boyish liking for mere fighting.

The seven campaigns in the five years after he crossed the Rubicon left Caesar less than eighteen months for his great plans of reorganization. Even this short time was in broken intervals between wars, and the whole routine of ordinary government had to be taken care of also. Of course the new work remained incomplete, and it is not always possible to tell just what Caesar planned to do; but that which was actually accomplished dazzles the imagination. His genius, too, marked out the lines along which, on the whole, his successors, less grandly, had to move.

The murder was as imbecile as it was wicked. It struck the wise monarch, but not the monarchy, and left Caesar's work to be completed by smaller men, after a new period of anarchy. We can do no better, in leaving "the foremost man of all this world," than to use the words of Mommsen: "Thus he worked and created as never any mortal before or after him; and as a worker and creator he still, after two thousand years, lives in

the memory of the nations — the first and the unique Imperator Caesar!"¹

FOR FURTHER READING.—White's *Appian*, for the period; Mommsen, bk. v, chs. x-xi; Warde-Fowler's *Caesar* (Heroes); Davidson's *Cicero* (Heroes); Trollope's *Cicero*; Froude's *Caesar*; Pelham; Merivale's *Triumvirates*; Plutarch's *Lives* ("Caesar," "Pompeius," "Crassus," "Cicero," "Brutus").

II. FROM JULIUS TO OCTAVIUS, 44-31 B.C.

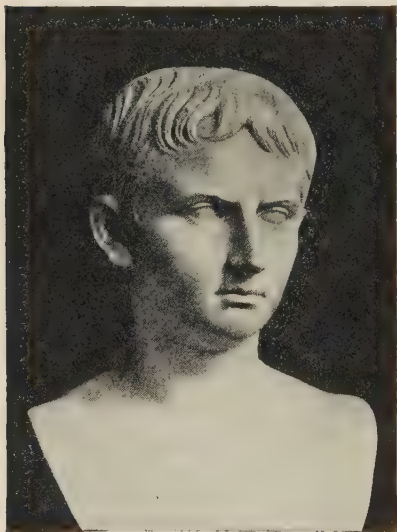
468. Antonius and Octavius.—Caesar's assassination led to fourteen years more of dreary civil war, before the Empire was finally established on a firm foundation. The murderers had hoped to be greeted as liberators. For the moment they were the masters of the city; but, to their dismay, all classes (even the senatorial order) shrank from them. In a few days they found themselves in extreme peril. At Caesar's funeral his lieutenant and friend, Marcus Antonius ("Mark Antony") was permitted to deliver the usual oration over the dead body, and his skillful and fiery words² roused the populace to fury against the assassins. The mob rose; all Italy was hostile; and the conspirators fled to the eastern provinces, where some of them had commands and where the fame of Pompey was still a strength to the Aristocrats.

In the West, control fell to two men, *Antonius* and *Octavius Caesar*. Antonius, the orator of Caesar's funeral, was a dissolute, resolute, daring soldier. Octavius was a grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. He was an unknown sickly youth of eighteen, and at first he owed his importance wholly to the connection with the great dictator; but he soon proved himself the shrewdest and strongest statesman of the empire.

¹ Read the rest of Mommsen's fine summary, V, 441-442, and, for Caesar's character, the famous passage, pp. 305-314. See also a fine passage on the necessity of the Empire, and on Caesar's work, in Hodgkin's "Fall of the Roman Empire," in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1898, pp. 53-58.

² Shakspeare follows the historical account in the nature of the speech he puts into Antony's mouth in *Julius Caesar*.

469. Formation of the Second Triumvirate. — At first these two leaders were rivals, each posing as the heir and successor of Caesar. By the shrewd policy of Octavius, however, they united their forces, and, to secure the West thoroughly, they took into partnership Lepidus, governor of Gaul and Spain.



OCTAVIUS CAESAR (AUGUSTUS) AS A BOY.
A bust now in the Vatican.

The three men got themselves appointed *triumvirs*¹ by the Senate (43 B.C.). They were given unlimited power for five years to reorganize the state; and this dictatorship they afterward extended at will.

470. The Proscription.

— The union was cemented with blood. To their shame, the triumvirs abandoned the merciful policy of Caesar. Their first deed was to get rid of their personal foes in Italy by a horrible proscription. Each marked off on the fatal list those whose deaths

he demanded, and each surrendered an uncle, a brother, or a trusting friend, to the others' hate. It was at this time that Cicero perished, abandoned by his friend Octavius to the hatred of Antonius. More than three thousand victims—all men of high position—were slain. The triumvirate had crushed out all possible opposition in Italy.

¹ Note that the term *triumvirate* is official in this use, while the so-called *first triumvirate* (§ 443) was an unofficial league, or ring, of public men. The *triumvirate* of 43 B.C. was a triple dictatorship; just as the ancient *decemvirate* (§ 314) was a dictatorship of *ten* men.

471. Final Overthrow of the Oligarchs ; Philippi. — Meantime Brutus and Cassius had been rallying the old Pompeian forces in the East. Their army contained troops from Parthia, Armenia, Media, Pontus, and Thrace. Octavius and Antonius marched against them. Again the East and West met in conflict, and again the West won — at Philippi in Macedonia (42 B.C.). This was the last time the “Republicans” appeared in arms.

472. Quarrels of the Triumvirs ; Actium. — Then Octavius and Antonius set aside Lepidus and divided the Roman world between themselves. Soon each was plotting for the other’s share. The East had fallen to Antonius. There he became infatuated with the licentious Cleopatra of Egypt, until he lost care even for his military fame and sank into sensual indolence, with only fitful gleams of his old energy.

Octavius was preparing to take advantage of this condition, when a pretext was made ready to his hand. Antonius bestowed rich provinces upon Cleopatra, and, it was rumored, planned to supplant Rome by Alexandria as chief capital. The West turned to Octavius as its champion. The Roman Senate declared war against Antonius, and, in 31, the rivals met in the naval battle of *Actium* off the west coast of Greece. This was the third of the decisive battles in the establishment of the empire: and, like Pharsalus and Philippi, it also was a victory for the West over the East.¹

III. OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.-14 A.D.

473. Final Establishment of the Empire ; Republican Forms. — Actium made Octavius sole master of the Roman world. He proceeded to the East to restore order and to annex Egypt, which now became a Roman province. On his return to Rome, in 29 B.C., the gates of the Temple of Janus were

¹ Special reports: story of the battle of Actium; death of Antonius and of Cleopatra.

closed, in token of the reign of peace.¹ He declared a general amnesty, and thereafter welcomed to favor and public office the followers of his old enemies; and, by prudent and generous measures, he soon brought back prosperity to long-distracted Italy.

In 27, Octavius laid down his office of triumvir (which had become a sole dictatorship), and declared *the Republic restored*. The act really showed that he was absolute master and that *the Empire was safely established*. To be sure, Octavius himself wrote (*Monumentum*,² xxxiv): "After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy." And indeed Republican *forms* were respected as scrupulously as conditions would permit. The Senate deliberated; the Assembly met to elect consuls and the other officers of the old constitution. But, even in form, the Senate at once gave back to Octavius his most important authority in various ways,³ and, in reality, supreme power lay in his hands as Imperator,⁴ master of the legions. This office and title Octavius kept, and the Senate now added to it the new title *Augustus*, which had before been used only of the gods.⁵ It is by this name that he is thenceforth known in history.

Augustus, however, carefully refused the forms and pomp of monarchy. He lived more simply than many a noble, and walked the streets like any citizen, charming all by his frank

¹ These gates were always open when the Romans were engaged in any war. In all Roman history, they had been closed only twice before, and one of these times was in the legendary reign of King Numa.

² See References, page 457.

³ Cf. § 497, and see an excellent statement in Pelham, 407-409.

⁴ Octavius, however, was so intrenched in popular favor that he did not need open support from the army. The legions were stationed mostly on the frontiers, far from Italy. Octavius did create a body of city troops, ten thousand in number, the *praetorian guards*, to preserve order at Rome; but during his rule even these guards were encamped outside the city.

⁵ For Augustus' "official version" of his political conduct, see the extract in Munro's *Source Book*, 144-145. The student must be on his guard in reading such "sources": Augustus' account is true to the letter, not to the spirit.

courtesy. He preferred to all his other titles the name of honor, *Princeps* (Prince), which was popularly conferred upon him and which signified "the first citizen" of the Republic.

474. The Character of Augustus.—In his early career Augustus had proven himself able, adroit, unscrupulous, cold-blooded. He had shrunk from no cruelty, and had been moved by no passion. But absolute power, which often drives small men to frenzy, warmed this cold, unlovely schemer into something akin to greatness.¹ He laid aside his first position as chief of a party, to become an impartial and faithful ruler. He took up the work of the great Julius, though with a more cautious spirit; and the remaining forty years of his life he gave to unremitting toil in strengthening the Empire and in improving the condition of the people throughout the Roman world.

475. The Augustan Age.—Augustus extended the boundaries of the empire, especially on the north, to secure safer frontiers (§ 507). But his chief work lay in internal organization. He organized the administration of the capital. A police department, a fire department, and a department for the distribution of grain, each under its proper head, were created, and the work of founding colonies outside Italy was renewed on a large scale. In like manner, the material needs of Italy and the provinces received careful attention. Throughout the empire, peace reigned. Order was everywhere established. Industry revived and thrived. Marshes were drained. Roads were built. A postal system was organized. A great census of the whole empire was carried out. The number of citizens was increased by about one fifth, and many important public works were carried through.

Above all, out of the long century of anarchy, Augustus reared a new structure of imperial government (§§ 496-499), building so firmly that even his death did not shake his work. For three centuries (until the time of Diocletian, § 549)

¹ Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 6-9.

his successors for the most part followed his general policy in government.

Augustus was also a generous and ardent patron of literature



AUGUSTUS. — Vatican Museum.

and art,¹ and the many famous writers of his reign (§ 526) gave splendor to his memory. In the history of Latin literature,

¹ In this patronage Augustus was imitated by many great nobles and especially by his minister *Maecenas*, whose fame in this respect outshines even that of his master. *Maecenas* was the particular friend and patron of Vergil and Horace.

the *Augustan Age* is synonymous with "golden age." The chief cities of the empire were adorned with noble buildings, — temples, theaters, porticoes, baths (§ 521). Augustus tells us in a famous inscription that in one year he himself began the rebuilding of eighty-two temples, and of Rome he said, "I found it brick and left it marble."

The details of much of his work will appear more fully in Chapter III (§ 496 ff.).

476. The Worship of the Dead Augustus. — At his death, by decree of the Senate, divine honors were paid Augustus. Temples were erected in his honor, and he was worshiped as a god. Impious as such worship seems to us, it was natural to the Romans. It was connected with the ideas of ancestor worship in each family, and with the general worship of ancient heroes, and was a way of recognizing the emperor as "the father of all his people." The practice was adopted for the successors of Augustus, and this worship of dead emperors soon became the most general and widespread religious rite in the Roman world, as well as a mighty bond of union.¹

In this connection it is interesting to remember that when the reign of Augustus was a little more than half gone, there was born in a manger in an obscure hamlet of a distant corner of the Roman world a child who became the founder of a religion which, after some centuries, was to replace the worship of emperors and all other religious faiths of the old pagan world.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On the work of Augustus: Firth's *Augustus*; Capes' *Early Empire*, ch. i; Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. v, ch. iii; Bury's *Roman Empire*, 1-149. For other material and for the account by Augustus himself, see page 457.

EXERCISES. — (1) Catchword review, 47-27 A.D. (2) Add the battles of this period to the list for drill. (3) Review the growth of Roman citizenship from legendary times to the death of Augustus (see index for references). (4) Review the theme sentences throughout the volume at the heads of chapters or of divisions of chapters, and note how they apply to the historical movements.

¹ Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 41-44.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES — AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN.

(*The Story of the Emperors.*)

477. Character of the Treatment of this Period.—With the Age of Augustus the history of the Empire ceases to be centered in the city of Rome. Nor is it centered even in the emperors. Much depends, of course, upon the ruler; but the great movements go on in a good deal the same way, no matter who sits upon the throne. Our study will not concern itself with the gossip of the court. For the next three centuries our interest lies not so much in a *narrative* of any kind as in a *topical* survey of the institutions of the Empire, upon which, in large measure, modern society rests.

Such a topical study is given in the next chapter. But, since it is convenient to refer to the reigns as dates, a brief summary of the emperors is given first. *This chapter is for reading and reference, not for careful study* at this stage. In review, after studying the topical treatment, important names and dates in the summary may be memorized.¹

I. TWO CENTURIES OF ORDER, 31 B.C.—180 A.D.

A. THE JULIAN CAESARS.

478. Augustus, 31 B.C.—14 A.D.: a Summary.—The work of Augustus is discussed in detail elsewhere; but a brief outline is added here. Augustus fixed the imperial constitution, *establishing despotism under Republican forms* (§§ 496–498). He *fixed*

¹ Students who wish to read more fully on the *narrative* of the first two centuries may use Capes' *Early Empire*, 44–180, and *Age of the Antonines*, 1–135, or Bury, *Roman Empire* (Student's Series). Other material can be found in the references named on page 457. On the third century there is no good brief treatment. The narrative chapters in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* may be used.

the boundaries of the empire (meeting with a check from the Germans in the defeat of the *Teutoberg Forest*, § 507). He restored *order*, promoted *prosperity*, carried out a *census* of the empire, constructed many vast *public works*. His age was the "golden age" of Latin literature. He "found Rome brick and left it marble." During his reign, *Christ was born*.

479. Tiberius, 14-37 A.D.—Augustus was succeeded by his stepson *Tiberius*, whom he had adopted as his heir. Tiberius was stern, morose, suspicious; but he was also an able, conscientious ruler. The nobles of the capital conspired against him, and were punished cruelly. The populace of Rome, too, hated him because he restricted the distribution of grain and refused to amuse them with gladiatorial sports. To keep the capital in order, Tiberius brought the praetorians (§ 473, note) into the city and encouraged a system of paid spies, so that the people of Rome with some reason looked upon him as a gloomy tyrant.¹ He also made the law of treason (*majestas*) apply to words against the emperor, as well as to acts of violence. *But in the provinces he was proverbial for fairness, kindness, and good government.* On one occasion, after a great earthquake in Asia Minor, he rebuilt twelve cities which had been destroyed there. In this reign occurred *the crucifixion of Christ*.

480. Caligula, 37-41.—In the absence of nearer heirs, Tiberius adopted his grandnephew *Caligula*. This prince had been a promising youth, but, crazed by power, he became a capricious madman, with gleams of fero-

¹ The great authority for this period is the Roman historian, *Tacitus*. But Tacitus is affected by the prejudice of the Roman nobles, and he paints Tiberius in colors much too dark. (See extracts in Munro's *Source Book*, 149-152.) The worst cruelties of Tiberius's reign were due, too, to his misplaced trust in *Sejanus*, his minister and commander of the praetorians. For a time this infamous miscreant virtually ruled the capital while Tiberius, in disgust, withdrew to his beautiful retreat on the island of *Capri*, near the Bay of Naples, to manage the affairs of the empire at large. Finally Sejanus plotted against the life of Tiberius, and was himself put to death. The abuse of the system of spies was due to the corruption of society in the capital. Read the extract in Munro, pages 151-152.

cious humor. "Would that the Romans had all one neck!" he exclaimed, wishing that he might behead them all at one stroke. His deeds were a series of crimes and extravagant follies. The wild-beast fights of the amphitheater and the gladiatorial shows fascinated him strangely. It is said that sometimes, to add to the spectacle, he ordered spectators to be thrown to the animals, and he entered the arena himself as a gladiator, to win the applause of the people whom he hated. After four years, he was murdered by his guard.

481. Claudius, 41-54. — Caligula had named no successor. For a moment the Senate hoped to restore the old Republic; but the praetorians set up as emperor *Claudius*, the uncle of Caligula. Claudius was a timid, gentle, awkward, well-meaning scholar. Much of the time he was under the influence of unworthy favorites. Still his reign is famous for a *great extension of citizenship* to provincials and for *legislation to protect slaves* against cruel masters.¹ *The Roman conquest of southern Britain* took place in this reign (§ 508).²

482. Nero, 54-68. — Claudius was succeeded by his stepson *Nero*, a boy of sixteen. Nero had been trained by the philosopher *Seneca* (§ 525), and for two thirds of his reign he was ruled by this great thinker and by other wise ministers. Indeed, the young emperor cared little for affairs of government, but was fond of art, and ridiculously vain of his skill in music and poetry. After some years he began to withdraw himself from the influence of his good advisers, and toward the close of his reign he manifested a *tiger-like depravity*. Wealthy nobles were put to death in great numbers and their property confiscated for the tyrant's benefit, Seneca himself being among the victims. Like Caligula, Nero entered the lists as a gladiator, and he sought popular applause also for his music and dancing.

During this reign *half of Rome was laid in ashes* by the "Great Fire." For six days and nights the flames raged unchecked, surging in billows over the slopes and through the valleys of the Seven Hills. By some, Nero was believed to have ordered the destruction, in order that he might rebuild in

¹ See Munro, *Source Book*, 187.

² Special report.

more magnificent fashion. On better authority he was reported to have enjoyed the spectacle from the roof of his palace, with music and dancing, singing meanwhile a poem he had composed on the "Burning of Troy."

The new sect of Christians also were accused of starting the fire, out of their supposed "hatred for the human race." To many, some color was given to the accusation by the talk of the Christians about an approaching destruction of the world. To turn attention from himself, Nero took up the charge, and carried out the *first persecution of the Christians* (§ 540), one of the most cruel in all history. Victims tarred with pitch were burned as torches in the imperial gardens, to light the indecent revelry of the court at night, and others, clothed in the skins of animals, were torn by dogs for the amusement of the mob. The persecution, however, was *confined to the capital*, and was *not religious in purpose*.

Nero sank deeper and deeper in vice and crime. Except for the disgrace, his capricious tyranny did not reach far beyond the city of Rome; but finally the legions in the provinces revolted. The tyrant was deserted by all, and the Senate condemned him to death. To avoid capture he stabbed himself, exclaiming, "What a pity for such an artist to die!"

B. THE FLAVIAN CAESARS.

483. Vespasian, 70-79. — *The year 69* was one of wild confusion in government. The legions in Spain had proclaimed the general *Galba* emperor. Another army set up *Otho*, who, after a brief struggle thrust Galba from the throne. Soon Otho was slain by the praetorians; and, for a few weeks, *Vitellius*, another hero of the soldiery, held the imperial title. Then the legions in Syria proclaimed their general, *Flavius Vespasianus* (*Vespasian*).

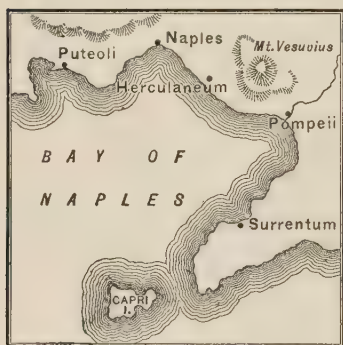
Vespasian was the grandson of a Sabine laborer. He was a rude soldier, — stumpy in build, blunt in manner, homely in tastes, but honest, industrious, experienced, and broad-minded. He had distinguished himself in Britain and in Asia, and he knew the needs of the empire. He quickly made himself master, and brought to an end the disorder into which Nero's misrule had plunged the state. His reign was economical

and thrifty, and was notable as an era of great public works and magnificent buildings (§ 521). He and his two successors are known as the *Flavian emperors*.

The anarchy of the year 69 had led to revolts in Gaul and in Judea. These were both put down promptly. *Rebellious Jerusalem was besieged and destroyed by Titus*, son of the emperor. The Jews made a frenzied resistance, and when the walls were finally stormed, many of them slew their women and children and died in the flames. More than a million Jews are said to have perished in the siege and the massacre that followed.¹ The miserable remnant for the most part were sold into slavery (§ 56).

484. Titus, 79-81.—Titus had been associated in the government with his father. His kindness and indulgence toward all classes made him the most popular of all the emperors. Once at supper, not able to remember

that he had made any one happy during the day, he is said to have exclaimed, "I have lost a day!"



VICINITY OF THE BAY OF NAPLES.

The most famous event of this brief reign is the *destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum*.² The volcano Vesuvius was believed extinct, and its slopes were covered with villas and vineyards. With little warning it belched forth in terrible eruption, burying two cities and many villages in ashes and volcanic mud. In the eighteenth century, by the chance digging of a well, the site of Pompeii, the largest of the two cities, was discovered,

and in recent years it has been excavated, disclosing the streets, houses, shops, temples, baths, theaters, the dress, the ornaments, and the utensils of daily life, of the men of eighteen hundred years ago,—all preserved by their volcanic covering.

485. Domitian, 81-96 A.D.—Titus was followed by his brother Domitian, a strong, stern ruler. His general *Agricola* completed *the conquest of*

¹ These figures of the Jewish historian Josephus are probably a great exaggeration. No such number of people could have dwelt within the walls of the city.

² Special report: the destruction of Pompeii. Read Bulwer's novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Material may be found in Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii*, Mau's *Pompeii*, or Dyer's *Pompeii*.

*Britain*¹ to the highlands of Caledonia (Scotland). The southern part of the island was now to enjoy a long peace. Roman roads were built; camps grew into rich cities; merchants thronged to them; the country was dotted with beautiful villas. Britain became a Roman province with Roman civilization. To protect the southern districts against the inroads of the unconquered highlanders, Agricola built a line of fortresses from the Forth to the Clyde.

On the continent, a similar, more important wall was begun, to defend the open frontier between the Rhine and the Danube. At home Domitian tried to reduce the power of the Senate. In consequence the nobles conspired against him. He put down their plots with cruelty, earning from their sympathizers the name of tyrant. Finally he was assassinated by members of his household. In this reign took place the *second persecution of the Christians*.

C. THE ANTONINE CAESARS.

486. Nerva (96-98), the First of the "Five Good Emperors." — The Senate had lost power since the time of Augustus. The death of Domitian marks something of a revolution in its favor. It chose the next ruler from its own number; and that emperor with his four successors governed in harmony with it. These princes are known as the *five good emperors*. The first of the five was *Nerva*, an aged senator of *Spanish descent*, who died after a kindly rule of sixteen months.

487. Trajan, the next emperor (98-117 A.D.), was the adopted son of Nerva. He was a *Spaniard by birth* and a great general. Once more the boundaries of the empire were advanced, though with doubtful wisdom (§ 509). Trajan conquered *Dacia*, a vast district north of the Danube, and then attacked the Parthians in Asia. That power was humbled, and new provinces were added *beyond the Euphrates*. *These victories mark the greatest extent of the Roman empire*.

Trajan's reign was the most famous in Roman history for the *construction of roads and other useful public works throughout the provinces*. Despite his wars, his rule was humane as well as

¹ Special report.

just. By loans from the treasury, he encouraged the cities of Italy to *care for and educate many thousands of poor children*.¹ A slight persecution of Christians took place under this emperor.

488. Hadrian, a Spanish kinsman of Trajan, followed him upon the throne (117–138 A.D.). He was a wise and prudent man, and his rule was one of *general reorganization*. He reformed the army and strengthened its discipline, and at the same time he looked to the fortification of the exposed frontiers.



DETAIL FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN: Trajan sacrificing a bull at the bridge over the Danube just built by his soldiers. Cf. § 521.

His most famous work of this kind was the wall (Hadrian's Wall) in Britain, from the Solway to the Tyne, to replace the less satisfactory wall of Agricola, farther to the north. He wisely abandoned most of Trajan's conquests in Asia, and withdrew the frontier there to its old line of the Euphrates.

Hadrian spent most of his twenty years' rule in inspecting the provinces; and everywhere memorials of his stay sprang up in splendid buildings and useful public works. He gave a more definite form to the civil service (the great body of officers who carried on the business of the government), and

¹ Read Capes' *Antonines*, 19–21.

in particular he organized a Privy Council, a body of great ministers to assist and advise the emperor (§ 497, note).

489. Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D., who had been adopted by Hadrian, was his successor. His reign was singularly *peaceful and uneventful*, and might well have given rise to the saying, "Happy the people whose annals are meager." Antoninus himself was a pure and gentle spirit. The chief feature of his rule was the legislation *to prevent cruelty to slaves and to lessen suffering*.

On the evening of his death, when asked by the officer of the guard for the watchword for the night, he gave the word *Equanimity*, which might have served as the motto of his life. His son wrote of him: "He was ever prudent and temperate. . . . He looked to his duty, and not to the opinion of men. . . . There was in his life nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing overdone."

490. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161-180 A.D. — Antoninus, Pius was followed by his nephew, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, whom he had adopted as a son. Marcus Aurelius was a *philosopher and student*. He belonged to the Stoic school (§ 238), but in him that stern philosophy, without losing its lofty tone, was softened by a gracious gentleness. His *Thoughts* (§ 536) is one of the world's noblest books, deeply religious, and closer to the spirit of Christ than any other writing of the pagan world.

The tastes of Aurelius made him wish to continue in his father's footsteps, but he had fallen upon harsher times. Moved by some great impulse, the barbarians renewed their attacks upon the Danube, the Rhine, and Euphrates. Marcus and his lieutenants beat them back successfully, but at the cost of almost incessant war; and the gentle philosopher lived and wrote and died in camp, on the frontiers. A great Asiatic plague, too, swept over the empire, with terrible loss of life, demoralizing society. This plague, regarded as a visitation from offended gods, roused the populace in many parts of the empire against the unpopular sect of Christians, who refused

to worship the gods of Rome; and the reign of the kindly Aurelius was marked by a cruel persecution.

Bury writes: "To come to the aid of the weak, to mitigate the lot of slaves, to facilitate manumission, to protect wards, were the objects of Marcus as of his predecessor." Says Merivale, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Caesarism in all after ages."

491. Commodus, 180-192 A.D.—The "five good emperors" end with Marcus Aurelius. His son, Commodus, was an infamous wretch who repeated the crimes and follies of the worst of his predecessors. He was finally murdered by his officers.

D. SUMMARY, 31 B.C.-192 A.D.

492. General Character of the Government.—Thus this first long period of two hundred and twenty-four years was an age of settled government and regular succession, except for two or three slight disturbances and for the disorders of the one terrible year 69, at the close of Nero's reign. That brief anarchy subdivides the period into nearly equal parts. The Julian emperors (*Romans* and related to the great Julius) covered just a century. After the three Flavians (*Italians*) came the six Antonines, who also covered nearly a hundred years. They were *provincials*. The majority of the fourteen rulers were good men. Nearly all were good rulers. The few tyrants had short reigns after their evil qualities began to show.

II. A CENTURY OF DISPUTED SUCCESSION BETWEEN MILITARY ADVENTURERS.

493. The Period of "Barrack Emperors," 193-284 A.D.—The misrule of Commodus had again left the throne the sport of the soldiery. There followed ninety years of twenty-seven "barrack emperors," set up by the praetorians or the legions, and engaged in frequent civil war. All but four of the twenty-seven emperors were slain in some revolt; and, of these four, two fell in battle against barbarian invaders.

494. The following list of the "barrack emperors" is given for reference.

Pertinax, Julianus; 193.

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

Caracalla, 211-217.

Macrinus, 217-218. **Elagabalus**, 218-222.

Alexander Severus, 222-235.

Maximus, 235-238. **Gordianus I and II**, **Pupienus**, **Balbinus**, 238.

Gordianus III, 238-244. **Philippus**, 244-249.

Decius, 249-251.

Gallus, **Aemilianus**, **Valerian**, **Gallienus**; 251-268.

Claudius II, 268-270.

Aurelian, 270-275.

Tacitus, **Florianus**, **Probus**, **Carus**, **Carinus**, **Numerianus**; 275-282.

495. Some of the Strongest of the Barrack Emperors. — After the murder of Commodus, the praetorians proclaimed a worthy senator emperor, but in three months he fell a victim to his masters. Then they offered the imperial purple to the highest bidder, and sold it to a wealthy noble, who paid each of the twelve thousand guards about a thousand dollars.

At this disgraceful news the armies on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, rebelled, each proclaiming its favorite general. **Septimius Severus**, an African soldier, was the commander on the Danube and the nearest of the rivals to the capital. By swift action he secured the prize. He then conquered his opponents, put to death many hostile senators and nobles, repulsed the barbarians, and ruled with a strong hand (193-211 A.D.). Another persecution of Christians took place in this reign.

Caracalla, the son of Severus, completed the extension of Roman citizenship by making all free inhabitants of the empire full citizens. In other respects he was a brutal tyrant. His reign (211-217), however, with his father's, is the age of the famous jurists *Papinian* and *Ulpian*, who gave a great development to Roman law (§ 535).

Then, after two unimportant emperors, the times and character of the Antonines were recalled by the rule of the youth **Alexander Severus** (222-235 A.D.). Most of his reign was an era of prosperity and happiness, but it closed amid barbarian invasions. He was murdered in camp upon the Rhine while warring against the Germans.

For the next thirty years phantom emperors follow each other in bewildering confusion. Only one able ruler appeared. This was **Decius** (249-251), and he soon fell in battle against the invading Goths. His

reign was marked by a widespread *persecution of Christians*. In the sixties, so many rival claimants for the throne appeared that the period is known as the age of the "Thirty Tyrants." The empire seemed split in fragments by the jealousies of contending legions, and sunk in anarchy by misgovernment. At the same time, the barbarians swarmed over every exposed frontier, penetrating for the first time far into the empire.

Happily, strong hands grasped the scepter and restored order. **Claudius II** (268-270 A.D.) began to beat back the invaders, and his successor, the great **Aurelian**, restored the frontier (except that he abandoned Dacia to the Goths). Aurelian (270-275) was an Illyrian peasant who had risen from the ranks. He is among the ablest of the emperors. He put down internal rebellion,¹ and went far toward restoring general prosperity. In this good work he was seconded worthily by three of the six rulers whose short reigns fill the next nine years, and then Diocletian came to reorganize the state (549 ff.).

¹ Among his other wars Aurelian subdued *Zenobia*, the Queen of Palmyra, who had rebelled against Rome. Read Ware's novel, *Zenobia*.

CHAPTER III.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES, FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN, 31 B.C.-284 A.D.

(*A Topical Treatment.*¹)

I. THE CONSTITUTION.

A. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

496. A Despotism under Republican Forms: the Principate.—We have noted how Augustus cloaked the new Monarchy in old Republican forms (§ 473). *The Senate* in particular continued to exercise much real power. It was no longer a close oligarchy. It became a chosen body of distinguished men selected by the emperors from all parts of the realm, and it gave powerful expression to the feelings and needs of the empire. On the whole, this continued to be true during the first three centuries. Most of the better emperors treated the Senate with respect and welcomed its help in carrying on the government. There was a constant tendency, however, to lessen its authority, even in form, and the century of “barrack emperors” especially contributed to that result.

The Assembly ceased at once to pass laws, but, during the forty years of Augustus, it continued to go through the form of elections. Augustus did not hesitate to canvass in person for its vote in favor of himself and his nominees. Tiberius, however, transferred the elections to the Senate; and the Assembly soon faded away.

¹ For references on this important chapter, see page 457. Full titles will be found there also for various works referred to briefly in the footnotes. The student will readily perceive that the plan of this chapter involves some repetition of events mentioned in chapter ii.

Some writers call the government from Augustus to Diocletian by the name *Dyarchy*, to signify a *joint rule* of emperor and Senate. It seems a fact that in all his words and in outward forms *Augustus conciliated Republican feelings much more even than Julius Caesar had done*. The student must not forget, however, that in reality a strong emperor was an absolute monarch whenever he cared to assert his authority. Indeed, constitutionally, he could change the membership of the Senate at will (§ 497). Another term for the disguised despotism of these centuries is the *Principate*, from the title *Princeps* (§ 473).

497. The Power of the Emperors.¹—From the first, even under Augustus, the duties of the consuls and other elected officers of the old constitution were confined more and more to the city of Rome alone. For the government of the empire there grew up a new imperial machinery, centralized in one man.

This machinery was partly old in origin, and partly new. Following the example of Julius Caesar (§ 463), each emperor *concentrated in his own person* a number of the more important powers of the old Republican officers. Each emperor held the *tribunician power* and the *proconsular power* throughout all the provinces for life, and so was leader of the city and master of the legions. Usually he became *Pontifex Maximus*. With the power of censor, or with the tribunician power, he could *appoint and degrade senators*, and so could at any time make himself absolute master of the Senate. By the same right he could lead the debates in that body and control its decrees, which became a chief means of law-making.² He appointed the governors of the provinces and the generals of the legions, the city prefect, the head of the city police, and the prefect of the praetorians; and, at will, he called together his chief

¹ Consult Munro's *Source Book*, 146-148. There is an admirable discussion in Pelham, 398-449, and a shorter one in Capes' *Early Empire*, 11-18. Bury's treatment (*Roman Empire*, 12-22) is excellent, but somewhat difficult for young readers.

² The emperor controlled the remaining legislation also: (a) *directly*, in *edicts* (as from the old republican magistrates sometimes), or in *rescripts* (directions to his officials); (b) *indirectly*, through the great jurists he appointed, whose interpretations of doubtful cases came to be a source of law.

officers and friends to advise and assist in carrying on the government.¹ Each successor of Augustus was hailed *Imperator Caesar Augustus*.²

498. The Establishment of the Empire a Gradual Process.—The Empire is dated sometimes from the year 27 B.C., when Octavius received the title of Augustus; sometimes from 31 B.C., when he became sole dictator; sometimes from 49 B.C., when Caesar crossed the Rubicon to become master of Rome. The fact is, its establishment was a *gradual process*. The essence of the change was, *that a single citizen, by different commissions, united in himself powers that had been intended to check one another.*

The process was not complete, even in the life of Augustus, for the practical master was not yet the acknowledged monarch. But a great step was taken when, on Augustus' death, all the world quietly recognized that he must have a successor. To be sure, in granting titles and authority to Tiberius, the Senate made no reference to the *term* of his office; and Tiberius hinted that he should lay it down as soon as the state no longer needed him. No one took these words seriously, however; and soon it became the practice to confer all the imperial powers upon each new ruler *for life*.

499. Nature of the Succession.—The weakest point in the imperial constitution was the uncertainty about the succession. In theory, just as the early republican magistrates nominated their successors (§ 275), so the emperor nominated the ablest man in his dominions to the Senate for his successor. But this principle was confused from the first by family claims, and later by the whims of the legions. The monarchy was neither elective nor hereditary, but in time it came to combine the worst evils of both systems. The praetorian guards in Rome had to be conciliated by presents from each new ruler,

¹ Hadrian (§ 488) made this irregular body of advisers and assistants a Privy Council, a regular part of the government, with definite composition and duties.

² The name Caesar survives in *Kaiser* and probably in *Tsar*.

and after two centuries the throne became for a hundred years the prey of military adventurers (§§ 493–495).

Still, the student of history must acknowledge the truth of Mommsen's statement regarding the first two centuries: "Scarcely has the government of so large a part of the world been conducted for so long a time in so orderly a sequence."

B. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.¹

500. Municipal Government.² — Throughout the empire great numbers of cities enjoyed self-government for local concerns. The magistrates (consuls, aediles, and quaestors) were elected in popular Assemblies that remained active long after the Assembly at Rome had passed away. Election placards posted in the houses of Pompeii (§ 484) show that the political contests were real, with strong popular excitement.

In each such town, the ex-magistrates formed a senate, or town council, which voted local taxes, expended them for town purposes, and in general looked after town matters. The ordinances of this council, sometimes at least, were submitted to the Assembly of citizens for approval. The *forms* of these municipal institutions, derived from the old Republic and now organized and extended to the provinces, were never to die out in Europe; and in the early Empire, the spirit of local patriotism and of self-government was strong.

501. The Tendency of the Emperors and their Governors to centralize the Local Government. — It is true, however, that the independence of the local governments was gradually sapped by the habit of referring all matters to the provincial governor. Moreover, it must be understood that the many

¹ This is a convenient point for the student to get a clear idea of the difference between "government" and "administration." "Administration," in the sense in which we shall most often have occasion to use the word, refers to the *machinery* for carrying out the will of the government.

² Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 193–198, or Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 223–238.

varieties and irregularities of the local institutions in the different cities of a province would cause vexatious delays to the central government. Therefore, strong rulers were sometimes disposed to sweep away the local institutions, in order to make the administration more uniform and to secure quicker results.

Oftentimes, the better intentioned the ruler, the stronger this evil tendency. Pliny (§ 529) was a worthy servant of a noble emperor; but we find Pliny writing to ask Trajan whether he shall allow the citizens of a town in his province of Bithynia to *repair* their public baths as they desire, or whether he shall require them to *build new ones*,¹ and whether he shall not interfere to compel a wiser use of public moneys lying idle in another town, and to simplify varieties of local politics in other cities.¹

Trajan, wiser than his minister, gently rebukes this over-zeal, and will have no wanton meddling with matters that pertain to established rights and customs. But other rulers were not so far-sighted, and local life did decline before the spirit of centralization.

502. The Provinces. — Above the towns there was no local self-government. The administration of the provinces was regulated along the lines Julius Caesar had marked out, and the better emperors gave earnest study to provincial needs. But the imperial government, however paternal and kindly, was despotic and absolute. Provincial Assemblies, it is true, were called together sometimes, especially in Gaul, but only to give the emperor information or advice. These Assemblies were made up of delegates from the various towns in a province. At first sight, they have the look of representative parliaments, but they never acquired any real political power.²

¹ Read the correspondence, or at least the excellent extracts in Bury, 440-444, or in Fling's *Studies*, No. 9. Capes' *Antonines*, 23-25, gives a shorter extract. A brief extract is given also in Munro's *Source Book*, 232 (No. 201).

² Read Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, 202.

II. IMPERIAL DEFENSE.

A. THE ARMY.

503. Size of the Army. — The standing army counted thirty legions; the auxiliaries and naval forces raised the total of troops, at the highest, to some four hundred thousand. They were stationed almost wholly on the three exposed frontiers, — the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. The



A GERMAN BODYGUARD. — A detail from the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

inner provinces, as a rule, needed only a handful of soldiers, for police purposes. Twelve hundred sufficed to garrison all Gaul.

It is a curious thought that the civilized Christian nations which now fill the old Roman territory, with no outside barbarians to dread, keep always under arms twelve times the forces of the Roman emperors. One chief cause of the Empire, it will be remembered, had been the need for better protection of the frontiers. This need the Empire met nobly and economically.

504. Sources. — Roman citizens had long ceased to regard military service as a first duty. The army had become a standing body of disciplined mercenaries, with intense pride,

however, in their fighting powers, in their privileges, and in the Roman name. The recruits were drawn, even in the Early Empire, from the provinces rather than from Italy; and more and more the armies were renewed from the frontiers where they stood. In the third century *barbarian mercenaries were admitted on a large scale*, and in the following period they came to make the chief strength of the legions. From the hungry foes surging against its borders the Empire drew the guardians of its peace.

505. Industrial and Disciplinary Uses.—The Roman legions were not withdrawn wholly from productive labor. In peace, besides the routine of camp life, they were employed upon public works. “They raised the marvelous Roman roads through hundreds of miles of swamp and forest; they spanned great rivers with magnificent bridges; they built dikes to bar out the sea, and aqueducts and baths to increase the well-being of frontier cities.” The steady discipline of the legions afforded also a moral and physical training for which there were fewer substitutes then than now.

At the expiration of their twenty years with the eagles, the veterans became full Roman citizens (no matter whence they had been recruited). They were commonly settled in colonies, with grants of land, and became valuable members of the community.

The legions proved, too, a noble school for commanders. Merit was carefully promoted, and military incompetence disappeared. Great generals followed one another in endless series, and many of the greatest emperors were soldiers who had risen from the ranks.

B. THE FRONTIERS.

506. The Frontiers as Augustus found them.—Julius Caesar left the empire bounded by natural barriers on three sides and on part of the fourth: the North Sea and the Rhine to the northwest, the Atlantic on the west, the African and Arabian deserts on the south, Arabia and the upper Euphrates on the east, and the Black Sea to the northeast.

The Euphrates limit was not altogether satisfactory: it surrendered to Oriental states half the empire of Alexander, and let the great Parthian kingdom border dangerously upon the

Roman world. Julius seems to have intended a sweeping change on this side, but none of his successors until Trajan seriously thought of one. The only other unsafe line was on the north, in Europe, between the Rhine and the Black Sea.

507. The Frontiers as Augustus corrected them.—Augustus aimed to make this northern line secure. He easily annexed the lands south of the lower Danube (modern Servia and Bulgaria—the Roman province of Moesia); and, after many years of stubborn warfare, he added the remaining territory between the Danube and the Alps (the provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia). The colonizing and Romanizing of these new districts were pressed on actively, and the line of the Danube was firmly secured.

In Germany, Augustus wished, wisely, to move the frontier from the Rhine to the Elbe. The line of the Danube and Elbe is much shorter than that of the Danube and Rhine, though it guards more territory (see map). Moreover, it could have been more easily defended, because the critical opening between the upper courses of the rivers is filled by the great natural wall of the mountains of modern Bohemia and Moravia. But here the long success of Augustus was broken by his one failure. The territory between the Rhine and the Elbe was subdued, it is true, and it was held for some years. But in the year 9 A.D. the Germans rose again under the hero Hermann.¹ Varus, the Roman commander, was entrapped in the *Teutoberg Forest*, and in a three-days' battle his three legions were utterly annihilated.

The Roman dominion was at once swept back to the Rhine. This was the first retreat Rome ever made from territory she had once occupied. Roman writers recognized the serious nature of the reverse. As one of them said: "From this disaster it came to pass that that empire which had not stayed its march at the shore of ocean did halt at the banks of the Rhine."

¹ Special report: read Creasy's *Decisive Battles*, ch. v, for the struggle.





The aged Augustus was broken by the blow, and for days moaned repeatedly, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions!" At his death, five years later, he bequeathed to his successors the advice to be content with the boundaries as they stood. This policy was adopted, perhaps too readily. Tiberius did send expeditions to chastise the Germans, and Roman armies again marched victoriously to the Elbe. The standards of the lost legions were recovered, and a Roman commander won the title Germanicus. But no attempt was made to restore the lost Roman province, and the Rhine became the accepted boundary.

Still, the general result was both efficient and grand. About the civilized world was drawn a broad belt of stormy waves and desolate sands, and at its weaker gaps—on the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates—stood the mighty, sleepless legions to watch and ward.

508. Britain.—Claudius renewed the attempt to conquer *Britain*. If the work had been carried to completion, it might have been well enough; but, after long and costly wars, the Roman power reached only to the edge of the highlands in Scotland. Thus a new frontier was added to the long line that had to be guarded by the sword, and little strength was gained to the empire (§ 481).

509. The Extreme Limits, and the First Surrenders.—Trajan, with more provocation than that which had lured Claudius into Britain, added *Dacia* north of the lower Danube, and *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assyria*, in Asia (§ 487). The two latter provinces were at once abandoned by his successor (§ 488).

Dacia, however, even more than Britain, became Roman in speech, culture, and largely in blood; and though it was abandoned by Aurelian in the weak period toward the close of the third century (§ 495), still the modern Roumanians claim to be Roman in race as well as in name. Britain was the next province to be given up, when the frontier began to crumble in earnest in the next great period of decay (§ 597).

510. Frontier Walls.—Since the attempt had failed to secure the mountain barrier of Bohemia for part of the northern frontier, Domitian wisely constructed an artificial rampart to join the upper Danube to the upper Rhine. This vast fortification was three hundred and thirty-six miles in length (map, page 493), with frequent forts and castles. Better known, however, is the similar work built shortly after in Britain, called Hadrian's wall (§ 488). Its purpose was to help shut out the wild Picts of the north. It extended from the Tyne to the Solway, and considerable remains still exist. Under Antoninus, a like structure was made farther north, just at the foot of the highlands, from the Clyde to the Forth, along the line of Agricola's earlier rampart (§ 485).

Hadrian's Wall was seventy miles long, extending almost from sea to sea. It consisted of three distinct parts, (1) a stone wall and ditch, on the north; (2) a double earthen rampart and ditch, about one hundred and twenty yards to the south; and (3) between wall and rampart, a series of fourteen fortified camps connected by a road. The northern wall was eight feet broad and twenty feet high, with turreted gates at mile intervals and with numerous large towers for guard-stations.

III. SOCIETY IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.¹

A. PEACE AND PROSPERITY.²

511. The "Good Roman Peace."—The year 69 A.D. (§ 483) is the only serious break in the quiet of the first two centuries—for the revolts of Boadicea³ in Britain (58 A.D.) and of Hermann (§ 507) are really frontier wars. The rebellion of *Civilis*³ on the Gallic side of the Rhine was connected with the disorders of the year 69, and the national rebellion of the Jews (§ 484)

¹ The society of the third century is treated in Division IV.

² Besides the specific references in the text below, see Gibbon, ch. ii; Capes' *Early Empire* and *Antonines*; Freeman's "Flavian Emperors," in *Second Series of Historical Essays*; Watson's *Aurelius*; Thomas' *Roman Life*; Pellison's *Roman Life*; Dill's *Roman Life from Nero to Aurelius*.

³ Special report.

began at that same time. To the empire at large, moreover, both these were trivial disturbances. Even in the third century, when the legions were incessantly warring among themselves in behalf of their favorite commanders (§ 495), vast regions of the empire were uninterested and undisturbed.

All in all, an area as large as the United States, with a population of one hundred millions, rested in the "good Roman peace" for nearly four hundred years. *Never, before or since, has so large a part of the world known such unbroken rest from the horrors and waste of war.* Few troops were seen within the empire, and "the distant clash of arms upon the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands."

512. Good Government, even by Bad Emperors. — The Caesars at Rome were sometimes weak or wicked, but their follies or crimes were felt for the most part only by the nobles of the capital. The imperial system became so strong that, save in minor details, the world moved along the same lines whether a mad Caligula or a philanthropic Aurelius sat upon the throne.

"To the Roman city the Empire was political death; to the provinces it was the beginning of new life. . . . It was not without good reason that the provincials raised their altars to more than one prince for whom the citizens, also not without good reason, sharpened their daggers." — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 69.

"It was in no mean spirit of flattery that the provincials raised statues and altars to the Emperors, to some even of the vilest who have ever ruled. . . . The people knew next to nothing of their vices and follies, and thought of them chiefly as the symbol of the ruling Providence which, throughout the civilized world, had silenced war and faction and secured the blessings of prosperity and peace, before unknown." — CAPES, *Early Empire*, 202.

513. Prosperity of the First Two Centuries. — The reign of the Antonines has been called the "golden age of humanity." Gibbon believed that a man, if allowed his choice, would prefer to have lived then rather than at any other period of the world's history. Mommsen adds his authority: —

“In its sphere, — which those who belonged to it were not far wrong in regarding as the world, — the Empire fostered the peace and prosperity of the many nations united under its sway longer and more completely than any other leading power has ever succeeded in doing. . . . *And if an angel of the Lord were to strike a balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and greater humanity at that time or in the present day, whether civilization and national prosperity generally have since that time advanced or retrograded, it is very doubtful whether the decision would prove in favor of the present.*” — MOMMSEN, *Provinces*, 5.

The roads were safe. Piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again for a thousand years. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. An immense traffic flowed ceaselessly between Europe and Central Asia along three great arteries: one in the north by the Black Sea and by caravan (along the line of the present Russian trans-Caspian railway); one on the south by Suez and the Red Sea; one by caravan across Arabia, where, amid the sands, arose white-walled Palmyra, Queen of the Desert.¹

From frontier to frontier, communication was safe and rapid. The grand military and post roads ran in trunk-lines — a thousand miles at a stretch — from every frontier toward the central heart of the empire, with a dense network of ramifications in every province. Guide books described routes and distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day; and private travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until well into the nineteenth century.

Everywhere rude stockaded villages changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved Roman roads. Roman irrigation made part of the African desert the

¹ On trade routes to China, advanced students may see Bury's *Gibbon*, IV, Appendix, 534 ff.

garden of the world, where, from drifting sands,¹ desolate ruins mock the traveler of to-day. In Gaul, Caesar found no real towns. In the third century that province had one hundred and sixteen flourishing cities, with baths, temples, amphi-



AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES, FRANCE, built by Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from distant mountain springs; present condition of the structure where it crosses a deep valley.

theaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts,² and schools of eloquence and rhetoric.

514. Forms of Industry.—It is difficult to picture the throbbing, busy life of the empire. Plainly it was a city life. Plainly, too, it rested on agriculture as the chief industry. We are to think of a few great cities, like Rome, Alexandria,

¹ Under French rule North Africa, in the last of the nineteenth century, began to recover its Roman prosperity after a lapse of fifteen hundred years.

² Particular attention was paid in cities to the water supply. That of Rome was better than that of London or Paris to-day. Most of the large cities, too, had more and better public baths than the modern capitals of Europe or the cities of America.

and Antioch, with populations varying from two million to two hundred thousand, and with their rabble fed by the state. Then we must think of the rest of the empire mapped into municipia, — each a farming district with a town for its core.

Within the town, modern manufacturing works were absent. For gentlemen there were the occupations of law, the army, teaching, literature, medicine, and the farming of large estates. Lower classes furnished the merchants, architects, shopkeepers, weavers, fullers, and artisans. In medicine there was considerable subdivision of labor. We hear of dentists and of specialists for the eye and for the ear. The shopkeepers and artisans were organized in companies or *gilds*. Unskilled manual labor in country and city was carried on by slaves, and that class rendered assistance also in many higher forms of work.

B. THE WORLD BECOMES ROMAN.

515. Political Unity by Extension of Citizenship. — Julius Caesar had begun the rapid expansion of Roman citizenship beyond Italy. Through his legislation the number of adult males with the franchise rose from some nine hundred thousand to over four million.¹ Augustus was more cautious, but before his death the total reached nearly five million.² This represented a population of some twenty-five million people, in an empire of nearly one hundred million, including slaves. Claudius made the next great advance, after a curious debate in his council,³ raising the total of adult male citizens, fit for military service, to about seven millions. Hadrian completed the enfranchisement of Gaul and Spain. The final step, as we

¹ This is the increase between 70 B.C. (after the admission of the Italians) and 27 B.C. The greater part of the growth must have been due to the reforms of Caesar.

² Augustus is our authority for both these sets of figures. See extract in Munro's *Source Book*, 187.

³ Cf. § 481. Read the interesting and sensible speech by Claudius as it is reported by Tacitus, *Annals*, xi, 24-25.

have noted (§ 405), was taken by Caracalla (212 A.D.), who made all free inhabitants of the empire full citizens. This completed the process of political absorption that began when the Romans and Sabines of the Palatine and Quirinal made their first compact.

By the time of Caracalla the franchise was no longer exercised, for the Roman Assembly had ceased except as a mob gathering. Moreover, most of the provincials had already come to possess many of the advantages of citizens. Caracalla may have acted partly from a desire to increase the revenues, — since citizens were subject to some taxes not paid by non-citizens. Still the gift of complete citizenship, with its eligibility to office and its rights before the law, was no slight gain.

516. Social Unity, in Patriotism and Aspiration. — By its generous policy, by its prosperity and good government, by its uniform law, and its means of close communication, the Empire won spiritual dominion over the hearts and minds of men. Rome molded the manifold races of her realms into one, — not by conscious effort or by violent legislation, but through their own affectionate choice.¹ *Gaul, Briton, Dacian, African, Greek, called themselves Romans.* They were so, in life, thought, and feeling. The East kept its Greek tongue and a pride in its earlier civilization (§ 400); but it, too, turned from the glories of Miltiades and Leonidas for what seemed the higher honor of the Roman name. *And East and West alike used the Roman law and Roman political institutions.*

This union was not, like that of previous empires, one of external force.² It was in the inner life of the people. The

¹ This Romanization of the provincials was very different from the violent measures used by Russia or Germany to-day to nationalize their mixed populations, and more like the unconscious absorption of many stocks in the United States. The Roman army as a means of mixing the many races into one must not be forgotten, however; "Spanish legions were stationed in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Pannonians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia." They settled and married in their new homes and helped to produce a race uniform even in blood.

² Note that the physical conquests of Rome were chiefly made under the Republic. *The Empire was a defensive civilized state; and its wars, with rare exceptions, were not for conquest.*

provincials had no reason to feel a difference between themselves and the inhabitants of Italy. From them now came the men of letters who made Roman literature glorious, and the grammarians who defined the Roman language (§§ 519, 525-527). They furnished the emperors. In their cities arose schools of rhetoric that taught the use of Latin even to youth born by the Tiber.

The poet Claudian, an Egyptian Greek of the fourth century, expressed this grand unity in noble and patriotic lines:—

“Rome, Rome alone has found the spell to charm
The tribes that bowed beneath her conquering arm ;
Has given one name to the whole human race,
And clasped and sheltered them in fond embrace, —
Mother, not mistress ; called her foe her son ;
And by soft ties made distant countries one.
This to her peaceful scepter all men owe, —
That through the nations, wheresoe’er we go
Strangers, we find a fatherland. Our home
We change at will ; we count it sport to roam
Through distant Thule, or with sails unfurled
Seek the most drear recesses of the world.
Though we may tread Rhone’s or Orontes’ shore,
Yet are we all one nation evermore.”

And says George Burton Adams :—

“It was a genuine absorption, not a mere contented living under a foreign government. Local dress, religions, manners, family names, language, and literature, political and legal institutions, race pride, disappeared for all except the lowest classes, and everything became really Roman, so that neither they (the new Romans) nor the Romans by blood ever felt in any way the difference of descent.” —*Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 23.

517. Diffusion of Social Life.—Life did not remain centralized at Rome as in the first century. To condense a passage from Freeman’s *Impressions of Rome*:—

“Her walls were no longer on the Tiber, but on the Danube, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Instead of an outpost at Janiculum, her fortresses were at York and Trier. Many of the emperors after the first century

were more at home in these and other distant cities than in the ancient capital, which they visited perhaps only two or three times in a reign for some solemn pageant.¹ In these once provincial towns the pulse of Roman life beat more strongly than in Old Rome itself.²

C. EDUCATION IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.²

518. The Universities. — The three great centers of learning were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities there were *universities*, as we should call them now, fully organized, with vast libraries and numerous professorships. The early Ptolemies in Egypt had begun such foundations at Alexandria (§ 239). Augustus followed their example at Athens, from his private fortune. Vespasian was the first to pay salaries from the public treasury, and Marcus Aurelius began the practice of permanent state *endowments*.³

The professors had the rank of senators, with good salaries for life and with various privileges. At Rome there were ten chairs of Latin Grammar (language and literary criticism); ten of Greek; three of Rhetoric, which included law and politics;⁴ and three of Philosophy, which included logic. These represent the three chief studies (the *trivium*) — language, rhetoric, and philosophy. There was also a group of mathematical studies, — music, arithmetic,⁵ geometry, astronomy (the *quadrivium*). In some universities special studies flourished. Thus law was

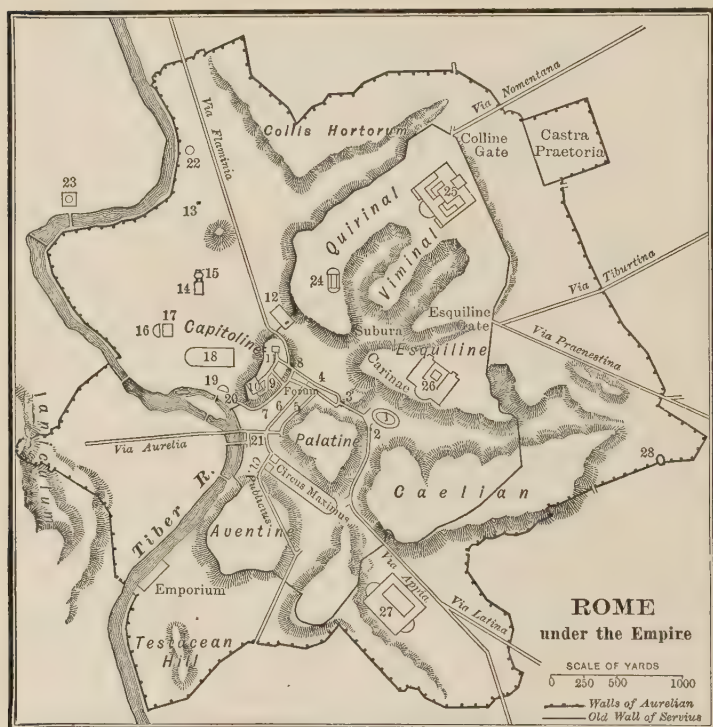
¹ This statement holds good for most of the better emperors. As a rule it was the weak or wicked ones who spent their reigns in the capital.

² Cf. Inge; Thomas; Capes; Bury; Dill, *Roman Life in the Last Century of the Empire*, 399–428 (excellent), and *Roman Life to Nero*; Kingsley's *Alexandria and her Schools* (in *Historical Lectures*); Laurie's *Rise of the Universities* (Lecture I, 1–17).

³ That is, the state gave large sums of money or valuable property, the *income* of which was to be used for the support of the institution receiving the gift.

⁴ Because these were subjects to which rhetoric was especially applied and on account of which it was studied.

⁵ When Roman numerals were used, arithmetic could not be an elementary study. To appreciate this, let the student try to multiply xlv by xix.



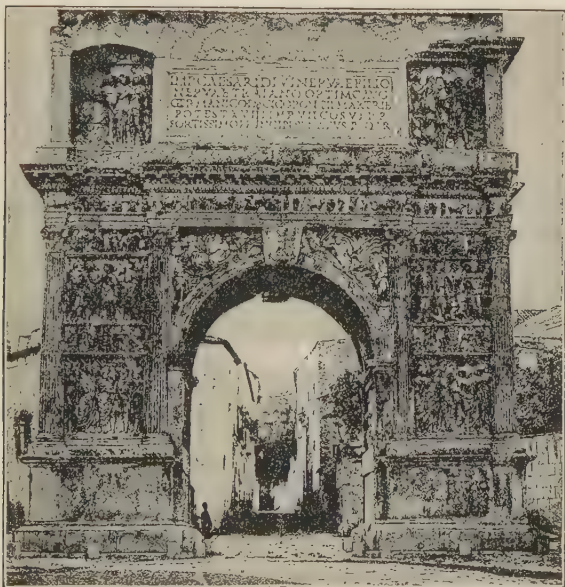
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|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Coliseum. | 10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. | 19. Theater of Marcellus. |
| 2. Arch of Constantine. | 11. Arch. | 20. Forum Holitorium. |
| 3. Arch of Titus. | 12. Column of Trajan. | 21. Forum Boarium. |
| 4. Via Sacra. | 13. Column of Antoninus. | 22. Mausoleum of Augustus. |
| 5. Via Nova. | 14. Baths of Agrippa. | 23. Mausoleum of Hadrian. |
| 6. Vicus Tuscus. | 15. Pantheon. | 24. Baths of Constantine. |
| 7. Vicus Jugarius. | 16. Theater of Pompey. | 25. Baths of Diocletian. |
| 8. Arch of Septimius Severus. | 17. Portico of Pompey. | 26. Baths of Titus. |
| 9. Clivus Capitolinus. | 18. Circus Flaminius. | 27. Baths of Caracalla. |
| | | 28. Amphitheatrum Castrense. |

a specialty at Rome (two chairs of Roman Law flourished there), and medicine at Alexandria.

519. "Grammar Schools" in the Provinces, and Lower Schools.
—Below the universities, in all large provincial towns, there

were "*grammar schools*." These were endowed by the emperors, from Vespasian's time, and corresponded in some measure to advanced high schools or colleges.

Those in Gaul and Spain were especially famous; in particular, the ones at Massilia, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The reputation of the instructors in the best schools



ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM.

drew students from all the empire. The walls of the class rooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters were appointed by local magistrates, with life tenure and good pay. Like the professors in the universities, they were exempt from taxation and had many privileges.¹

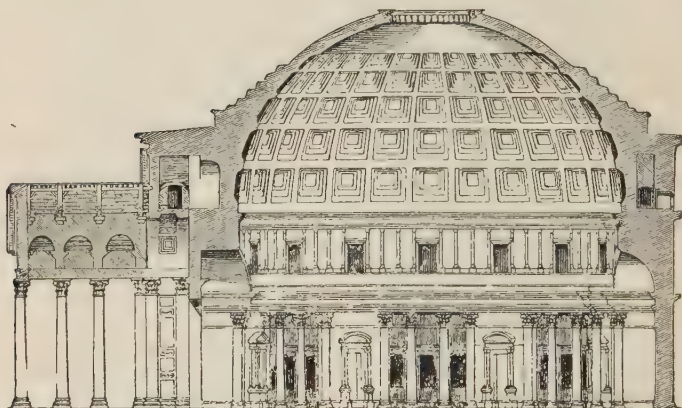
In the small towns were many *schools of a lower grade*.

¹ The privileges of this learned class were the origin of the "benefit of clergy" in the Middle Ages.

All this education was for the upper and middle classes, and for occasional bright boys from the lower classes who found some wealthy patron. Little was done toward dispelling the dense ignorance of the masses.

D. ARCHITECTURE.¹

520. Characteristics. — Architecture was the chief Roman art. With the Early Empire it takes on its distinctive character. To the Greek columns it adds the noble Roman arch,



A SECTION OF THE PANTHEON AS AT PRESENT.

with its modification, the dome. As compared with Greek architecture it has more massive grandeur and is more ornate. The Romans commonly used the rich Corinthian column instead of the simpler Doric or Ionic (§ 127).

521. Famous Buildings and Types. — The most famous building of the Augustan Age is the *Pantheon*, — “shrine of all saints and temple of

¹ Ferguson's *Ancient and Modern Architecture*; Inge, ch. v; Thomas, ch. iii; Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii*; Dyer's *Pompeii*; Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* and *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. In the absence of such works, articles on architecture in good encyclopaedias will be found useful.

all gods," — built in the Campus Martius by the minister Agrippa.¹ It is a circular structure 132 feet in diameter and of the same height, surmounted by a majestic dome that originally flashed with tiles of bronze. The interior is broadly flooded with light from an aperture in the dome 26 feet in diameter. The inside walls were formed of splendid columns of yellow marble, with gleaming white capitals, supporting noble arches, upon which again rested more pillars and another row of arches — up to



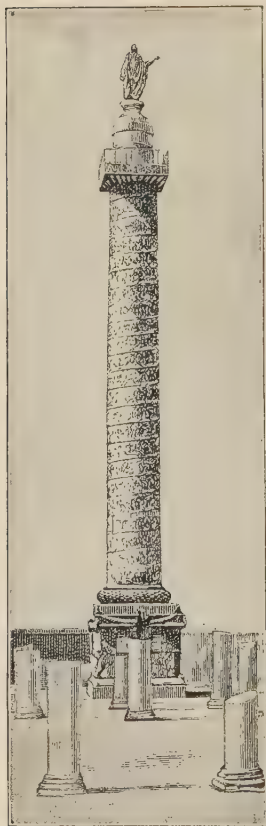
THE COLISEUM TO-DAY.

the base of the dome. Under the arches in pillared recesses stood the statues of the gods of all religions; for this grand temple was symbolic of the grander toleration and unity of the Roman world. Time has dealt gently with it, and almost alone of the buildings of its day it has lasted to ours.²

The *Coliseum* was begun by Vespasian and finished by Domitian. It is a vast stone amphitheater (*two* theaters, face to face) for wild beast

¹ Agrippa was an early friend of Augustus and a faithful assistant through his whole life. He was an able soldier and an ardent builder. In his patronage of art and architecture he filled a place like that of Maecenas in literature (§ 475). Agrippa's generalship won the battle of Actium. He became the son-in-law of Augustus, and, except for his death shortly before that of the Emperor, he would probably have succeeded to his power.

² Read the picture in Byron's *Childe Harold*, canto iv.



TRAJAN'S COLUMN TO-DAY.

hall itself was divided by two long rows of pillars into three parts running from the entrance to the apse—a central *nave* and two *aisles*, one each side of the nave. Sometimes there were double rows of pillars, making two aisles on each side. The nave was left open up to the

shows and games. It covers six acres, and the walls rise 150 feet.¹ It is said to have seated eighty thousand spectators. For centuries in the Middle Ages its ruins were used as a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size has prevented its destruction.

A favorite application of the arch was the *triumphal arch*, adorned with sculptures and covered with inscriptions, spanning a street, as if it were a city gate. Among the more famous structures of this kind in Rome were the arches of Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and, later, of Constantine (see pages 433, 464).

The Romans erected also splendid *monumental columns*. The finest surviving example is *Trajan's Column*, one hundred feet high, circled with spiral bands of sculpture containing twenty-five hundred human figures. It commemorated and illustrated Trajan's Dacian expedition (§ 487).

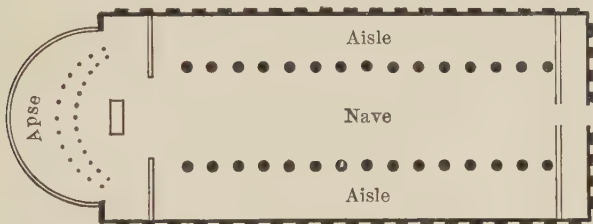
522. Roman Basilicas and the Later Christian Architecture.—One other kind of building must have special mention. A little before the Empire, the Romans adopted the Greek basilica² and soon made it a favorite form of building for the law courts.

The general plan was that of a great oblong hall, its length some two times its breadth, with a circular raised *apse* at the end, where sat the numerous judges. The

¹ Read the description in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, bk. i, ch. xii.

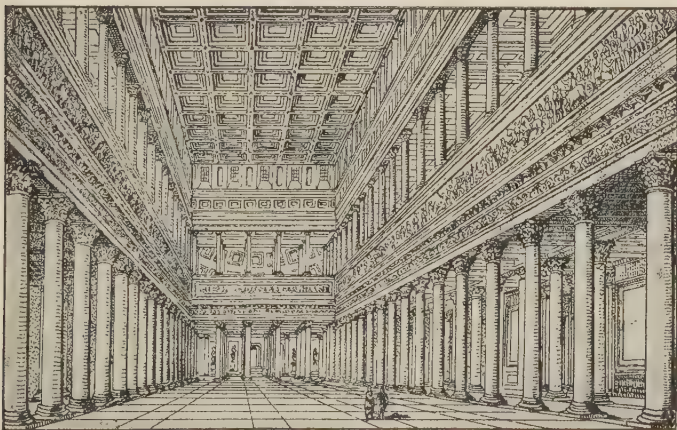
² So called from the hall at Athens where the *basileus archon* (king archon) heard cases at law involving religious questions.

lofty roof, but above the side aisles there were *galleries* shut off by a parapet, which supported a row of elevated pillars. These galleries were for the general public.



GENERAL PLAN OF A BASILICA.

The Christians found this building admirably adapted for their worship. After the conversion of the Empire, numerous basilicas were converted



INTERIOR VIEW OF TRAJAN'S BASILICA, as restored by Canina.

into churches, and for centuries all ecclesiastical buildings had this general plan. With slight changes, it grew into the plan of the medieval cathedral.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — The Roman house ; the Roman villa ; mosaic pavements ; excavations at Pompeii.

E. LITERATURE.¹

Literature plays so small a part in Roman life until just before the Empire, that it has not been needful to mention it until now. To grasp the literary conditions under the Empire, however, it is desirable to survey the whole field. The brief outline given here is designed only for reading and reference, not for careful study. If the teacher likes, it can be discussed in class, with open books.

523. Before the Age of Cicero.—Rome had no literature until the middle of the third century B.C. Then the influence of her conquest of Magna Graecia began to be felt. *Livius Andronicus*, a Greek slave from Tarentum, introduced the drama at Rome; but his plays, and those of his successor *Naevius*, were mainly translations from older Greek writers.

Ennius, also from Magna Graecia, comes in the period just after the Second Punic War. He translated Greek dramas, but his chief work was an epic on the legendary history of Rome.

Comedy was represented by two greater names, *Plautus* (of Italian origin) and *Terence* (a slave from Carthage). Both modeled their plays upon those of the Greek Menander (§ 236). *Plautus* (254-184 B.C.) is rollicking but gross. *Terence* (a generation later) is more refined and elegant.

To the period between the Second and Third Punic Wars belong also the *Origines* of *Cato* (an early history of Rome) and his writings on Agriculture, an earlier history by *Fabius Pictor*, and the great history by the Greek *Polybius*, all of whom have been referred to before in this volume.

524. The part of the first century B.C. preceding Augustus is sometimes known as the *Age of Cicero*, from the name that made its chief glory. *Cicero* remains the foremost orator of Rome and the chief master of Latin prose.

Two great poets belong to the period: *Lucretius* the Epicurean, a Roman knight, who reaches a sublimity never attained by other Latin poets; and *Catullus* from Cisalpine Gaul, whose lyrics are unsurpassed for delicacy, and who attacked Caesar with bitter invective, to meet gentle forgiveness.

History is represented by the concise, graphic, lucid narrative of

¹ Mackail, *Latin Literature*; or Cruttwell, *Roman Literature*.

Caesar, the picturesque stories of *Sallust* (who is our chief authority for the conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War), and by the inferior work of *Nepos* and *Varro*.

525. In the Augustan Age the stream broadens, and only the more important writers can be mentioned.

Horace (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote the most graceful of *Odes* and most playful of *Satires*, while his *Epistles* combine agreeably a serene common sense with beauty of expression.

Vergil (from Cisalpine Gaul) is probably the chief Roman poet. He is best known to school boys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics* (an exquisite agricultural poem). In the Middle Ages *Vergil* was regarded as the greatest of poets, and *Dante* was proud to acknowledge him for a master.

Ovid (Roman knight) has for his chief work the *Metamorphoses*, a mythological poem. *Ovid's* last years were spent in banishment on the shores of the Black Sea, where he wrote pathetic verses that will always keep alive a gentle memory for his name.

Livy (of Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote their great histories of Rome in this reign. *Diodorus* (a Sicilian Greek) wrote the first general history of the world. Greek science is continued by *Strabo* of Asia Minor (living at Alexandria), who produced a systematic geography of the Roman world, and speculated on the possibility of one or more continents in the unexplored Atlantic between Europe and Asia. The last three authors wrote in Greek.

526. The First Century A.D.—In the first century A.D., later than Augustus, we have among other authors the following: the poets *Lucan* and *Martial* (famous for his satirical wit), both Spaniards; the Jewish historian *Josephus* (writing in Greek); the scientist *Pliny the Elder* (of Cisalpine Gaul), who perished in the eruption of *Vesuvius* in his scientific zeal to observe the phenomena; the rhetorician *Quintilian* (a Spaniard); the philosophers *Epictetus* and *Seneca* (both Stoics). *Seneca* was a Roman lord of Spanish birth; *Epictetus* was a slave from Phrygia. Both taught a lofty philosophy, but the slave was the nobler both in teaching and in life.

527. In the second century contemporary society is charmingly illustrated in the *Letters* of *Pliny the Younger* (from Cisalpine Gaul), and is gracefully satirized in the *Dialogues* of *Lucian* (a Syrian Greek).

In history we have:—

Appian (an Alexandrian Greek), who wrote (in Greek) a history of the different parts of the empire;

Arrian (an Asiatic Greek), who wrote (in Greek) biographies of Alexander and his successors, and treatises on geography;

Plutarch (a Boeotian), the author of the famous *Lives* ("the text-book of heroism") and of a great treatise on *Morals* (*in Greek*);

Suetonius, the biographer of the first twelve Caesars; *

Tacitus (a Roman noble), author of the *Agricola*, the *Germania* (a description of the Germans), the *Annals*, and a *History*. The last two works (lost, in part) are a great history of the early empire.

Poetry is represented chiefly by the *Satires* of *Juvenal* (an Italian).

Science is represented by:—

Galen (an Asiatic Greek), who wrote treatises on medicine (*in Greek*), and who was revered for many centuries as the greatest medical authority;

Ptolemy, an Egyptian astronomer and geographer, whose work (*in Greek*) was the chief authority for centuries; he taught that the earth was round and that the heavens revolved about it for their center;

Pausanias (an Asiatic Greek), a traveler and writer (*in Greek*).

Philosophy has for its chief representative,—

Marcus Aurelius, the emperor (§§ 490, 536).

For the Christian religion,—the books of the New Testament received their present form in Greek.

EXERCISE. — Note the significance in the use of Greek or Latin by the authors named above (cf. § 400); observe the increase in prose literature.

F. PAGAN SOCIETY: MORALS.¹

528. The Dark Side.—Many writers dwell upon the immorality of Roman society under the Empire. It is easy to blacken the picture unduly. The records of course give most prominence to the court and the capital; and there the truth is dark enough. During some reigns the atmosphere of the court was rank with hideous debauchery. At all times many of the great nobles were sunk in coarse orgies; and the rabble of Rome, defiled with the offscourings of all nations, was ignorant, cruel, and wicked. In other great cities, also, the mob was wretched and vicious.

¹ Specific references will be given in footnotes. For longer reading, the student may consult Capes' *Early Empire*, chs. xviii, xix; Dill's *Roman Life from Nero to Aurelius*, and *Roman Life in the Last Century of the Empire*, bk. i, chs. i-iv; Lecky's *European Morals*, 161-335; Inge's *Society in Rome*; Pellison's *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*; Thomas' *Roman Life*.

Particular evil customs shock the modern reader. At the gladiatorial sports, delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater, without shrinking at the agonies of the dying; and the games grew in size and in fantastic character¹ until they seem to us a blot beyond anything else in human history. To avoid the cost and trouble of rearing children, the lower classes exposed their infants to die, with horrible frequency and indifference. The old family discipline was gone. The growth of divorce was railed at, as in our own day, by the satirists of the times. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world.

529. The Danger of Exaggeration: the Bright Side.²— Yet it is certain that a picture from such materials alone is grossly misleading. There was much good, though it made less noise than the evil. Some old, rude virtues were going out of fashion; but new, gentler virtues were coming in.³ The unexhausted populations of North Italy and of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and the great middle class over all the empire, remained essentially sound in morals. Satirists like Juvenal (§ 527) or moralists like Tacitus (§ 527) are no more to be accepted as

¹ Under Trajan one set of games continued 123 days. In a single day's games, when the Coliseum was first opened by Titus, 5000 animals were slain. The jaded spectators demanded ever new novelties, and the exhibitors sought out fantastic forms of combat. Thousands of men fought at once in hostile armies. Sea fights were imitated on artificial lakes. Distant regions were scoured for new varieties of beasts to slay and be slain. Women entered the arena as gladiators, and dwarfs engaged one another in deadly combat. The wealthy aristocrats laid wagers upon the skill of their favorite gladiators, as with us at the prize ring. Read, especially, Lecky's *European Morals*, I, 271-291.

² Read Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 115-117, and Capes' *Early Empire*, 223-227, for wholesome statements about the danger of exaggerating the evils.

³ "That effeminacy fell upon men which always infects them when they live under the rule of an all-powerful soldiery. But with effeminacy there came in time a development of the feminine virtues. Men ceased to be adventurous, patriotic, just, magnanimous; but in exchange they became chaste, tender-hearted, loyal, religious, capable of infinite endurance in a good cause." — SERLEY, *Roman Imperialism*, 33.

authority, without correction, than racy wits and scolding preachers for our own day.

On the whole, the first two centuries show a steady gain, even if we look only to pagan society. The *Letters* of Pliny



MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.—A bust now in the Louvre.

reveal, in the court circle itself, a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day, in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, genial and thoughtful courtesy.¹ Marcus Aurelius and his father illustrate like qualities on the throne. Epictetus (§ 526) shows them in slavery. All these are surrounded by friends whom they think good and happy.

Indeed, in a close survey, over against each evil we can set a good. The position of women was improved. Charity to the poor abounded. Animals were treated more kindly. Slavery grew milder. The sympathies of men broadened. Law showed a gentler spirit. The harsh scepticism of the last days

¹ Read a charming essay, *A Roman Gentleman under the Empire* (Pliny), by Harriet Walters Preston, in *The Atlantic* for June, 1886. Thomas' *Roman Life*, chs. xi and xiv, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. v, present similar pictures.

of the Republic gave way to a more devout religious feeling.¹ All this was true without referring to the Christian part of society, of which we shall speak later (§ 538 ff.). Some of these lines of improvement are noted in more detail in the following sections.

530. Woman became free,² the equal of man in law, and his companion instead of his servant in the family. A higher view of marriage appeared than ever before in the pagan world. Plutarch and Seneca, for the first time in history, insisted that men be judged by the same moral standard as women; and Roman law adopted this principle in the decrees of Antoninus and the maxims of Ulpian (§ 495). Plutarch's precepts on marriage "fall little if at all below any of modern days," and his own family life afforded a beautiful ideal of domestic happiness.³ Plutarch urges the highest intellectual culture for women; and, says Lecky:—



FAUSTINA (wife of Marcus Aurelius).—A bust now in the Louvre.

¹ Read Bury, *Roman Empire*, 575, 576, for a good statement of this truth.

² On the position of women, read Lecky, *European Morals*, ch. v.

³ Lecky, II, 289.

"Intellectual culture was much diffused among them, and we meet with noble instances of large and accomplished minds united with all the gracefulness of intense womanhood and all the fidelity of the truest love. . . . When Paetus, a noble Roman, was ordered by Nero to put himself to death, his friends knew that his wife Arria, with her love and her heroic fervor, would not survive him. Her son-in-law tried to dissuade her from suicide by saying: 'If *I* am called upon to perish, would you wish your daughter to die with me?' She answered, 'Yes, if she has then lived with you as long and happily as I with Paetus.' Paetus for a moment hesitated to strike the fatal blow, but Arria, taking the dagger, plunged it deeply into her breast, and then, dying, handed it to her husband, exclaiming, 'My Paetus, it does not pain!'"

531. Charity.—There was a vast amount of public and private charity. Homes for poor children and orphan girls were established. Wealthy men loaned money below the regular rate of interest, and provided free medicine for the poor. Tacitus tells how, after a great accident near Rome, the rich opened their houses and gave their wealth to relieve the sufferers. (Cf. § 487.)

532. Kindness to Animals.—Literature for the first time abounds in tender interest in animals. Cato in the days of the "virtuous Republic" had advised selling old or infirm slaves; Plutarch in the "degenerate Empire" could never bring himself to sell an ox in its old age.¹ We find protests even against hunting; and severe punishments were inflicted for wanton cruelty to animals. There seems little doubt that animals were better treated under the pagan Empire than in southern Europe to-day.

It is true, the gladiatorial games continued. They were defended by arguments like those used for bullfights, bear baiting, cockfighting, and the prize ring, in later times. But at last critics began to be heard, and Marcus Aurelius made the combats harmless for his time by compelling the use of blunted swords. Moreover, it is true beyond doubt—so strong is fashion even in morals—that the passion for these in-

¹ Read Lecky, II, 165.

human games was not inconsistent with humanity in other respects.¹

533. Slavery grew milder. Emancipation became so common that, on an average, household slaves were freed after six years' service. The horrible story of Pollio (a noble who threw a slave alive to the lampreys in a fish pond for carelessly breaking a precious vase) is often given as typical of Roman treatment of slaves. This is misleading. That crime occurred at the very beginning of the Empire, while there was yet no check *in law* upon a master; but even then, Augustus, by a stretch of humane despotism, ordered all the tableware in Pollio's house to be broken and his fish ponds to be filled up. Evidently, such a master was socially ostracised.

Soon afterward a master was murdered by a slave. The Senate, *after bitter opposition*, voted to put the entire household of slaves to death, according to the old custom of the Republic; but the city populace rose in indignant insurrection to prevent such unjust cruelty. In Nero's time a special judge was appointed to hear the complaints of slaves and to punish cruelties to them, and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were jeered in the streets. Law began to protect the slave, and imperial edicts improved his condition.²

534. Sympathies broadened. The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for the thought that all men are brothers. Philosophers were fond of dwelling upon the idea. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." Even the rabble in the Roman theater was wont to applaud the line of Terence: "I am a man; no calamity that can affect man is without meaning to me."

The age prided itself, justly, upon its enlightened humanity, much as our own does. Trajan instructed a provincial governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

¹ Read a good passage in Lecky's *European Morals*, 288-290.

² Cf. §§ 481, 489. Extracts from this legislation are given by Munro, 187, 192. Read Lecky, *European Morals*, I, 303-308.

535. The Gentler Spirit of Imperial Law. — The result of this broad humanity *was crystallized* in the Roman law.¹ The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women and children shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized. From this time dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal"² became a law maxim, through the great jurist Ulpian. Slavery, he argued, had been created only by the lower law, enacted not by nature but by man. Therefore, if one man claimed another as his slave, the benefit of any possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed.³

G. EXTRACTS TO SHOW THE HIGHER PAGAN MORALITY.

536. From the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius : —

Aurelius thanks the gods "for a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, and good friends."

"From my mother I learned piety, and abstinence not only from evil deeds but from evil thoughts." From a tutor, "... not to credit miracle workers and jugglers, with their incantations and driving away of demons ; . . . to read carefully, and not to be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book."

"There are briars in the road ? Then turn aside from them, but do not add, 'Why were such things made?' Thou wilt be ridiculed by a man who is acquainted with nature, as thou wouldst be by a carpenter or shoemaker if thou didst complain that there were shavings and cuttings in his shop."

"All that is from the gods is full of providence."

"On every vexation apply this principle : This is not a misfortune, but to bear it nobly is good fortune."

"The best way to avenge thyself is not to become like the wrong-doer."

¹ Read Lecky, I, 294-297, and Curteis, 17. Hadley, *Roman Law*, Lectures II and III, and Gibbon, ch. xlv, give longer discussions.

² This maxim was to work revolutions in distant ages. It played a part in both the American and the French Revolutions of the eighteenth century.

³ It is curious to remember that the rule was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave Laws from 1793 to the Civil War.

“When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee.”

“Love men ; revere the gods.” [Does not this come near “the two commandments” ?]

“Think of thyself as a member of the great human body, — else thou dost not love men from thy heart.”

“Suppose that men curse thee, or kill thee . . . if a man stand by a pure spring and curse it, the spring does not cease to send up wholesome water.”

“To say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and all that belongs to the soul is a dream and a vapor ; life is a warfare and a stranger’s sojourn, and after fame is oblivion. What then is there about which we ought seriously to employ ourselves ? This one thing — just thoughts and social acts, words that do not lie, and temper which accepts gladly all that happens.”

“Why then dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end, whether it be extinction or removal to another life ? And until that time comes, what is sufficient ? Why, what else than to venerate the gods and bless them, and to do good to men, and to practice tolerance and self-restraint.”

“Everything harmonizes with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe ! Nothing is too early or too late which is in due time for thee ! Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature ! From thee are all things ; in thee are all things ; to thee all things return. The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops ; and shall not I say, Dear city of Zeus ? ”

“Many grains of frankincense upon the same altar ; one falls before, another after ; but it makes no difference.”

“Pass through this little space of time conformably to Nature, and end thy journey in content — just as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing Nature who produced it and thanking the tree on which it grew.”

“What is it to me to live in a universe if devoid of gods. But in truth gods do exist, and they do care for human things, and they have put the means in man’s power to enable him not to fall into real evil.”

“It is sweet to live if there be gods, and sad to die if there be none.”¹

537. From Epictetus : —

“He is unreasonable who is grieved at things which happen from the necessity of nature.”

“Nothing is smaller than love of pleasure and love of gain and pride. Nothing is superior to magnanimity and gentleness and love of mankind and beneficence.”

¹ Read Watson’s *Marcus Aurelius*, or Matthew Arnold’s treatment in *Essays in Criticism*, First Series. See also Capes’ *Antonines*, 84–134.

“What we ought not to do we should not even think of doing.”

“No man is free who is not master of himself.”

“Think of God more frequently than you breathe.”

“Fortify yourself with contentment, for this is an impregnable fortress.”

“If you wish to be good, first believe that you are bad.”

“Do not so much be ashamed of that disgrace which proceeds from men’s opinions as fly from that which comes from the truth.”

“No man who loves money and pleasure and fame, also loves mankind, but only he who loves virtue.”

“If you wish to be rich, know it is neither a good thing nor in your power; if you wish to be happy, it is a good thing and in your power; for the one is a temporary loan of fortune, but happiness comes from the will.”

“When you die you will not exist, but you will be something else of which the world has need; you came into existence not when you chose, but when the world had need of you.”

“To me all significations are auspicious if I choose; for, whatever results, it is in my power to derive benefit from it.”

“It is not possible to be free from faults; but it is possible to direct your efforts incessantly to bring faultlessness.”

“Death or pain is not formidable, but the fear of pain or death.”

H. CHRISTIANITY.

538. Some Inner Sources of its Power.—Thus far we have considered the morals of the pagan world only. But during these same first centuries of the Empire, Christianity had come into the world (§ 476) and was already growing into the greatest single power that has ever worked upon the souls of men. God as a tender father replaced the gods demanding worship for themselves as the price of holding their hands from afflicting men. Confidence in a blissful life after death replaced the old gloomy and shadowy future. The obligation of pure and helpful living was substituted for the duty of minute ceremonial. Christianity made hope, love, and mutual helpfulness the essence of religion for the masses of men, and it replaced the lofty but trembling aspirations of the noblest philosophers by a sure and glowing faith.

Individuals in the pagan world, it is true, like Plato and Aurelius, held opinions regarding God, duty, immortality, not unlike the teachings of Christ; but through Christianity these higher doctrines, "which the noblest intellects of [pagan] antiquity could barely grasp, have become *the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley.*"¹

539. Debt to the Roman Empire.²—In three distinct ways the Empire had made preparation for Christianity. (1) The gentler tendency of the age made easier the victory of Christianity, the religion of humility and self-sacrifice. (2) The political machinery of the empire had important influence upon the organization of Church government (§ 565). (3) An incalculable debt is due to the unity of the vast Roman world.

Except for the widespread rule of Rome, Christianity could hardly have reached beyond Judea. The early Christian writers recognized this, and regarded the creation of the Empire as a providential preparation. No other government was tolerant enough to permit the spread of such worship. The Empire had tolerated broadly the religions of all nations (except those believed to be seriously immoral), and so had melted down sharp local prejudices. The union of diverse peoples under the Empire, with a common language, common sentiments and customs, a common government, and habits of easy intercourse, laid the foundation for their spiritual union in Christianity. Says Renan:—

"It is not easy to imagine how, in the face of an Asia Minor, a Greece, an Italy, split into a hundred small republics, and of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Egypt, in possession of their old national institutions, the apostles could have succeeded, or even how their project could have been started."

¹ Lecky, *European Morals*. See that work (II, 1-4) on the relation of pagan speculation and teaching to Christian faith; and also some good pages in Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, First Series, 345-348. Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, 14-18, has some excellent source extracts to illustrate the same relation.

² There is a good treatment in Fisher's *Beginnings of Christianity*, 47-73.

540. The Early Persecutions.—The Empire encouraged the utmost freedom of thought upon all subjects. Marcus Aurelius, in appointing men to the endowed chairs of philosophy at Rome, did not inquire whether or not they agreed with his own philosophical beliefs. Why, then, did Rome persecute the early Christians?

To understand this at all, it is best to treat separately the "persecution" under Nero, and the persecutions in the following century.

We know from the Book of Acts that within thirty years after the death of Christ his disciples were to be found in all large cities of the eastern part of the Empire, and that they had appeared in Rome itself. They were still confined, however, almost wholly to the lower classes of society. Cultivated Romans heard of them only by chance, if at all, and as a despised sect of the Jews. The Jews themselves accused the Christians of all crimes and impieties, — of eating young children and of horrible orgies in the secret love-feasts (the communion suppers). The accusation was accepted carelessly, because of the secrecy of the Christian meetings¹ and because there had been licentious rites in certain eastern religions which Rome had been compelled to check.²

The great fire in Rome, 64 A.D. (§ 482), first brought the Christians to general notice, and gave occasion for the first important mention of them by a pagan historian. The origin of the fire, says Tacitus, was charged upon the new sect, —

"Whom the vulgar call Christians, and who were already branded with deserved infamy. Christus, from whom the name was derived, was executed when Tiberius was emperor, by Pontius Pilate, the procurator in Judea. But the *pernicious superstition*, checked for the time, again broke out, not only in its first home, but even in Rome, the meeting place of all horrible and immoral practices from all parts of the world."

¹ See a significant extract from a pagan writer in Munro, 168 (No. 128).

² A brief clear statement is given by Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, 9-11 and 14-15.

Tacitus plainly does not think the charge of incendiarism proven, but he approves the punishment of these "haters of the human race." Nero was glad to satisfy the rage of the Roman populace by sacrificing such victims with ingenious and fiendish tortures. As we have noted, however (§ 482), the punishment was not in name or fact a *religious* persecution, and it was confined to the city of Rome.

Fifty years later, Pliny was a provincial governor under Trajan (§§ 501, 527). Many persons in his province were accused by the people, sometimes anonymously, of belonging to the "deplorable superstition" of the Christians. Such men, it was charged, were guilty of immoral practices, and also *brought down the anger of the gods upon the state*, since they would not sacrifice to its gods. Pliny had investigated and had found that they lived pure, simple lives, but that they refused with "immovable obstinacy" to sacrifice to the Roman gods. This, he thought, deserved death. But the number of such offenders was so great, and they came forward so readily, that he was embarrassed, and he wrote to Rome for instructions. Trajan directed him not to seek them out, and not to receive anonymous accusations, but added that if Christians were brought before him and then refused to sacrifice, they must be punished.¹

541. Causes of the Persecutions. — From these letters two things appear. (1) The populace hated the Christians as they did not hate the adherents of other strange religions, and pressed the government to persecute them. (2) The best rulers, though deploring bloodshed, thought it proper and right to punish the Christians with death.

These facts can be partly explained.

a. Rome tolerated and supported all religions, but she expected all her populations also to tolerate and support the state religion. The Christians alone not only refused to do so, but

¹ Read the correspondence in Munro's *Source Book*, 165-167, Fling's *Studies*, 140-143, or in Bury, 446-448. See, too, *Pennsylvania Reprints* IV, 10; Ramsay, 196-225, Hardy, 102-124.

declared war upon it as sinful and idolatrous. To the populace this seemed to challenge the wrath of the gods; and to enlightened men it seemed to indicate at least a dangerously stubborn and treasonable temper.

b. Secret societies were feared and forbidden by the Empire, on political grounds. Even the enlightened Trajan instructed Pliny to forbid the organization of a firemen's company in a large city of his province, because such associations were likely to become "factious assemblies." The church was a vast, highly organized, widely diffused, secret society, and "as such, was not only distinctly illegal, but in the highest degree was calculated to excite the apprehension of the government."¹

c. The attitude of the Christians toward society added to their unpopularity. Many of them refused on religious grounds to join the legions, or to fight, if drafted. This seemed treason, inasmuch as a prime duty of the Roman world was to repel barbarism. Moreover, the Christians were unsocial: they abstained from most public amusements, as immoral, and they refused to illuminate their houses or garland their portals in honor of national triumphs.

Thus we have religious and social motives with the people, and a political motive with statesmen. It follows that the periods of persecution often came under those emperors who had the highest conception of duty.

542. The Attitude of the Government. — The first century, except for the horrors in Rome under Nero, afforded no persecution until its very close. In 95 there was a persecution, not very severe, and lasting only a few months. Under Trajan we see spasmodic local persecutions arising from popular hatred, but not instigated by the government. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius strove to repress popular outbreaks against the Christians. Aurelius, in the latter part of his reign, permitted a persecu-

¹ These are the words of George Burton Adams. For the jealousy of Trajan toward associations, see Munro, *Source Book*, 232, 233. Some scholars, however, deny that the Church was persecuted as a secret society; see Hardy, 90-91 and 195.

tion. On the whole, during the second century, the Christians were legally subject to punishment, but there were only a few enforcements of the law against them, and those were local,¹ not general.

The third century was an age of anarchy in government, and, as we shall see, of decline in prosperity. The few able rulers strove strenuously to restore society to its ancient order; and this century accordingly was an age of definitely planned, imperial persecution. Says George Burton Adams: "There was really no alternative for men like Decius,² and Valerian,² and Diocletian.³ Christianity was a vast organized defiance of law." No return to earlier Roman conditions, such as the reformers hoped for, could be accomplished unless this sect was overcome.

But by this time Christianity was too strong. It had come to count nobles and rulers in its ranks. At the opening of the fourth century, the shrewd Constantine saw the advantage he might gain by enlisting it upon his side in the civil wars. Accordingly Christianity became a favored religion, and the era of persecution by the pagans ceased forever.

543. Summary. — (1) It is possible to understand how some of the best emperors could persecute the Church. (2) The persecution was not of such a character as to endanger a vital faith. (3) It did give rise to multitudes of heroic martyrdoms of strong men and weak maidens, which make a glorious page in human history, and which by their effect upon contemporaries justify the saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."⁴ (4) The moral results of Christianity in the first three centuries were most apparent in the social life of the lower classes in the cities. The effect upon legislation and government was to begin in the fourth century A.D.

¹ This does not detract from the heroism of those noble men and women who chose to die in torture rather than deny their faith. On the slight nature of the persecution before Decius, 249 A.D., see Lecky, I, 443-445; Curteis, *Roman Empire*, 20-30.

² § 494.

³ § 549.

⁴ Special report: stories of famous early martyrs; the persecutions of Decius and of Diocletian.

FOR FURTHER READING ON THE PERSECUTIONS. — Consult Munro, 167-172, for extracts from the Christian Tertullian (early third century). The *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 1, contains other source material. There are a few excellent pages on the persecution by good emperors in Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (essay on "Marcus Aurelius"), 359-363. The causes and extent of persecution are summarized in Ramsay, ch. xv; chs. x-xiv give its history in the first two centuries. The attitude of the imperial government is discussed in Watson's *Aurelius*, ch. vii, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. vi. Lengthy treatments will be found in Hardy's little volume, *Christianity and the Roman Government* (about two hundred pages) and in Lecky's *European Morals*, I, 398-468, and a valuable brief statement in Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 20-30. See also Church's *To the Lions*, Farrar's *Darkness and Dawn*, and Newman's *Callista* (novels).

IV. THE GENERAL DECLINE IN THE THIRD CENTURY.¹

544. In general, the third century of the Empire, from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian (180-284), is a period of decline. The political anarchy of the period has been treated briefly in §§ 493-495. There was a similar falling away in the *defense of the frontiers*, in *material prosperity*, and in *literary activity*. These features will now be noted in some detail.

545. Renewal of Barbarian Attacks. — For the first two centuries the task of the legions was an easy one, but in the reign of the peaceful Marcus Aurelius the torrent of barbarian invasion began again to beat upon the ramparts of civilization. The Moorish tribes were on the move in Africa; the Parthians, whom Trajan had humbled, again menaced the Euphrates; and Tartars, Slavs, Finns, and Germans burst upon the Danube. Aurelius gave the years of his reign to campaigns on the frontier.²

¹ Most of the topics in this chapter have been treated (in Division III) only to about 200 A.D. In some cases — imperial organization, lists of emperors, and Christianity — it was more convenient to cover the three centuries.

² Chapters of the *Thoughts* were composed, as the date lines show, in camp in the mountains of Bohemia or Moravia against the Marcomanni (Markmen) and Quadi.

For the time, indeed, Rome beat off the attack; but from this date she stood always on the defensive, with exhaustless swarms of fresh enemies surging about her defenses; and after the great and prosperous reigns of Septimius and Alexander Severus (§ 495) they began to burst through for destructive raids.

Early in the third century the Parthian Empire gave way to a new Persian kingdom under the Sassanidae kings. This Persian power for a time seemed the great danger to the Roman world. In 250 and 260 its armies poured across the Euphrates. The emperor Valerian was defeated and taken prisoner, and Antioch was captured. New German tribes, too, — the mightier foe, as events were to prove, — appeared on the European frontier. The *Alemanni* crossed the Rhine and maintained themselves in Gaul for two years (236–238). In the disorders of the fifties, bands of *Franks* swept over Gaul and Spain. The *Goths* seized the province of Dacia, and raided the eastern European provinces. In the sixties, Gothic fleets, of five hundred sail, issuing from the Black Sea, ravaged the Mediterranean coasts, sacking Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta.

Claudius II and Aurelian, however, restored the old frontiers, except for Dacia, and chastised the barbarians on all sides. The worst of the evil was confined to the middle third of the century;¹ but a fatal blow had been struck at the military fame of Rome.

546. Decline of Population and of Material Prosperity. — By the irony of fate, the reign of the best of emperors marks also another great calamity. In the year 166 a new Asiatic plague swept from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, carrying off, we are told, half the population of the empire.

From Aurelius to Aurelian, at brief intervals, the pestilence returned, desolating wide regions and demoralizing industry.

¹ Read a few pages in Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 44–71, if accessible.

Those who recovered from the disease often showed a weakened energy, and the vitality of society was fatally lowered. Even vigorous young societies take a long time to recover from a single blow of this kind.¹ To the Roman Empire, the disaster was the more deadly because *population had already become stationary*, if it were not indeed on the decline.

The reasons for this previous falling off in population are not altogether clear. The widespread slave system was no doubt one cause. A high standard of comfort and a dislike for large families, as in modern France, was another. But these seem insufficient. It is hardly possible to charge the evil to immorality, since the victory of Christianity does not seem to have checked it afterward. Whatever the cause, the fact of the decline is beyond question; and so the gaps left by pestilence remained unfilled. "Year by year, the human harvest was bad." The fatal disease of the later Empire was want of men.² There followed a decline in material prosperity and in tax-paying power.

547. Decay in Literature.—Great names in poetry, history, and science cease. Philosophy and theology become a dreary waste of controversy. We have multitudes of "Apologies" for Christianity from the Church Fathers (*Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*),³ and volume upon volume against them from the New Platonists, like *Plotinus* and his disciple *Porphyry* (Asiatics). Works on Christian doctrine and practice were written also by *St. Clement* (of Alexandria) and *St. Cyprian* (of Carthage).

The one advance is in Roman law (§ 500). This is the age of the great jurists, of whom *Ulpian* is the most famous. But even this progress is confined to the early part of the century, closing with the reign of Alexander Severus.

¹ It is said to have taken a century for England to recover from the effects of the Black Death in the fourteenth century.

² Read Seeley's *Roman Imperialism*, 53-64.

³ These three writers were all citizens of Africa.

REFERENCES for the Empire of the first three centuries. — Sources : Augustus' *Monumentum Ancyranum* ("The Deeds of Augustus") is important for the reign of the first emperor ; it is a long inscription, composed by Augustus, found on the walls of a temple in *Ancyra* (and, less complete, in other places) ; a translation is given in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, V. Tacitus covers the early period of the Empire. Suetonius gives us the *Lives* of the first twelve Caesars. Some other sources are referred to in footnotes on special subjects, and Munro's *Source Book* contains much good material.

Modern authorities : General Survey : Mommsen's great *History* closes with Julius Caesar. Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Age of the Antonines* (Epochs) and Bury's *Roman Empire* (Student's Series) to 180 A.D., fill the period between Mommsen and Gibbon. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (chs. iv-xii) remains the great guide for the third century. Pelham covers the whole period in brief. The third century is not attractive, and writers on the Early Empire show a disposition to stop with the Antonines, while treatments of the later period usually begin with Diocletian. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 5-16, has an excellent summary from Augustus to Diocletian.

On Society : chapters in the works mentioned above, and the special references in footnote on pages 424, 440.

On Christianity : all the authorities above and the references in footnote on page 449 and *References* on page 454.

On Architecture : see footnote, page 434.

On Literature : see footnote, page 438.

REVIEW EXERCISES. — 1. Reread carefully §§ 478-495, so as to get a clear idea of the relation of the different emperors to the great movements treated in the present chapter. If the teacher thinks it desirable, a catchword review of the narrative in those sections may be prepared at this point. 2. Add largely to the list of terms for rapid drill. 3. Add to the table of dates the following : 31 B.C., 9 A.D., 14, 69, 180.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY: DIOCLETIAN TO THEODOSIUS.

(*The Story of the Emperors.*¹)

I. DIOCLETIAN AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

(*A Centralized, Despotic Empire.*)

548. The Needs of the Empire. — We have seen that the third century was a period of grave disorder. The throne was the sport of the legions and the prize of successful military adventurers. The usefulness of the Empire, however, was not over. Claudius II and Aurelian (§ 495) repulsed the perils from without, which the anarchy in government had encouraged, and then came *Diocletian* and *Constantine* to end the internal disorder itself (§§ 549 ff.).

That disorder had arisen in the main from two causes.

a. The machinery of government was too simple. The emperor had too much to do. He could not ward off Persians on the Euphrates and Germans on the Rhine, and also supervise closely the government of the forty provinces into which the empire had come to be divided. Moreover, some single provinces were so important that their governors, especially if also victorious generals, were almost the equals of the

¹ The fourth century, like the first three, is treated in two chapters — one for narrative and one for a topical study. For convenience, however, the character of the reorganized government is discussed in the first chapter, in connection with the reign of its creator *Diocletian*, and the victory of Christianity in connection with the reign of its champion *Constantine*.

emperor in power. For the past century there had averaged a rebellion of a governor for nearly every year.

b. *The succession to the throne was uncertain* (§ 499). Sometimes the emperor named his successor; sometimes the Senate elected its own choice. Sometimes the new ruler was the creature of the praetorians, sometimes the favorite of one of the frontier armies. Finally the legions had ceased to wait for the throne to become vacant, and made vacancies at will. The result had been the century of "barrack emperors."

549. Diocletian (284–305 A.D.), a stern Illyrian soldier and the grandson of a slave, was himself one of these barrack emperors. He was the last and greatest of them, and he made them well-nigh impossible thereafter. Seizing the scepter with a strong hand, he established secure and victorious peace on all the frontiers, and ruled firmly for twenty-one years. Toward the close of his reign he was induced to carry on the *most terrible and thorough of all the persecutions of the Christians*.¹ His gréatest work was his reorganization of the system of government (§§ 550 ff.).

550. The System of "Partnership Emperors" and Caesars; the Four Prefectures. — Diocletian introduced a system of "partnership emperors." He chose as a colleague *Maximian*, a rough soldier but an able man and a faithful friend. Each of the two assumed the same titles and dignity; each was Imperator Caesar Augustus. The two *Augusti* divided the empire, Diocletian taking the East and giving to Maximian the West. Each then divided his half into two parts, keeping one under his own direct control, and intrusting the government of the other to a chosen heir with the title of *Caesar*. The two emperors kept their own capitals in the central and more settled provinces of the empire, — Diocletian at Nicomedia in Asia Minor, and Maximian at Milan in North Italy. To the Caesars were assigned the more turbulent and exposed provinces of the

¹ Special report.

extreme East and the extreme West, with the duty of guarding the frontiers against Persians and Germans.

Thus the empire was marked off into four great sections, called *prefectures*, and each prefecture was put under the immediate supervision of one of the four rulers. This made closer oversight possible. At the same time, in great measure, it did away with the danger of military adventurers seizing the throne. Thereafter there were usually certain men especially pointed out for the succession. This was not so definitely arranged, it is true, as to prevent disputes, and in future more than one war took place for the crown; but the number of possible claimants was greatly limited and the evil was lessened.

551. Nature of this System : not a Division of the Empire. — This arrangement, however, was *not a partition of the empire*. It was only a division of the burden of administration. The power of each emperor in theory extended over the whole empire. Edicts in any part were published under their joint names. It was intended that the rulers should act in harmony, and for much of the following century they did so. *There were not two empires or four. There was only one.* In fact, though equal in dignity, the two emperors were usually not equal in power. Thus, throughout his reign, Diocletian's strong will ruled his colleague.

552. A Complex Hierarchy. — The attempt of Diocletian to prevent disputes about the succession was only partially successful, but the other faults of the government (§ 548 *a*) he corrected more completely. The division of duties between four chief rulers was only the beginning of his reform. Below the Augustus or the Caesar, in each prefecture, appeared a series of officials in regular grades, as in an army. That is, the administration was organized into a systematic *hierarchy*, each officer under the immediate direction of the one just above him.

Before the time of Diocletian the forty provincial governors had stood directly below the emperor, who had to supervise





them all himself.¹ Now the *provinces* were subdivided so as to make about a hundred and twenty. These were grouped into thirteen *dioceses*, each under a *vicar*. The dioceses were grouped into the four *prefectures*, each under its *prefect*, who was subject to a Caesar or Augustus in person. A prefect had under him three or five vicars ; a vicar had under him several provincial governors. Each officer sifted all business that came to him from his subordinates, sending on to his superior only the more important matters.

553. Table of Prefectures and Dioceses. — The following table shows more clearly to the eye the grouping of these units of government :—

		Prefectures	Dioceses		
THE EAST.	East	{	East	15	provinces.
			Egypt	6	"
			Asia	11	"
			Pontus	11	"
			Thrace	6	"
	Illyricum	{	Macedonia and Greece	. . . . .	6 " "
THE WEST.	Italy	{	Dacia	5	"
			Italy	17	"
			Africa	6	"
	Gaul	{	Illyria	7	"
			Spain	7	"
			The Gauls	17	"
			Britain	5	"

Countless municipalities.

554. Separation of Civil and Military Duties ; Other Military Reforms. — The provincial governors were now of too little importance to rebel successfully against the emperor, but another measure guarded still further against such internal disorder. The governors and vicars became merely *civil officials*. All military command was intrusted to other officers, who were

¹ For an illustration of the minute oversight attempted by industrious emperors, see once more the correspondence of Trajan with Pliny, referred to in §§ 527 and 540.

responsible, not to the vicars, but directly to the emperor. Thus the civil and military powers watched and checked each other.¹

At the same time, still more careful precaution was taken against military adventurers. The powerful legions were broken up into *small regiments*, which had less corps spirit and were less able to act in concert against the central authority.

555. Development of a Highly Organized Administration.—Most of these reforms were meant to divide duties and to fix responsibility precisely. One more change was aimed at the same end. In the Early Empire the friends or servants of the emperor were often given great power in the administration, but in an irregular and varying manner. Hadrian (§ 497, note) had made these irregular assistants into regular officers and advisers. But now each such officer became the head of an extensive department of government,² organized into a hierarchy of many ranks; and, along with this change at court, went also the multiplication of subordinate officials throughout the provinces.³

556. Despotic Forms.—To secure for the emperor's person greater reverence, Diocletian adopted *the forms of monarchy*. The Republican cloak of Augustus was cast aside, and the Principate gave way to an open despotism. At last, absolutism was avowed as a policy, and adorned with its characteristic trappings. The emperor assumed a diadem of gems and robes of silk and gold. He dazzled the multitude by the oriental magnificence of his court, and fenced himself round,

¹ Cf. § 63 for the use of a similar device in a ruder way.

² Imperial Rome developed her machinery of government out of the offices of the emperor's household. The chief of the attendants in the emperor's chamber became the *Great Chamberlain*, the head of an important branch of the administration. See Wilson's *The State*, 135, 136. In like manner, the great administrative officers of medieval kingdoms were developed from the household officers of the kings.

³ The heads of departments exercised great control over the emperor's knowledge of the empire and had much influence upon his plans. In like manner they themselves were influenced by their subordinates.

even from his nearest associates, with minute ceremonial and armies of functionaries. When subjects were allowed to approach him at all they were obliged, in place of the old Republican greeting, to prostrate themselves servilely at his feet.

At this time the Senate of Rome—the last of the old Republican influences—ceased to have part in the management of the empire. It became thenceforth only a city council, just as the officers of the Republic had long before become mere city officials (cf. §§ 473, 496, 497).

557. Summary; a Centralized Despotism.—Like the reforms which had preserved the declining society of Caesar's day (§ 458), the changes introduced by Diocletian were in the direction of absolutism. The medicine had to be strengthened; soon its virtue would be exhausted, and only the poison would be left.

The government became a centralized despotism, a vast, highly complex machine. For a time its new strength warded off foreign foes, and it even stimulated society into fresh life. But the cost of the various courts and of the immense body of officials pressed upon the masses with crushing weight, and the omnipotence and omnipresence of the central government oppressed the minds of men. Patriotism died; enterprise disappeared.¹

To this despotic organization we owe thanks, however, for putting off the catastrophe in Western Europe for two centuries more. In this time, *Christianity* won its battle over paganism, and *Roman law* took on a system (§ 613) that enabled it to live even under the barbarian conquest (§§ 582 ff.).

¹ It is desirable for students to discuss in class more fully some of these forms of government of which the text has to treat. Absolutism refers to the *source of political power*: i.e., in a system of absolutism, supreme political power is in the hands of one person. "Centralization" refers to the *kind of administration*. A centralized administration is one carried on by a body of officials of many grades, all appointed from above. Thus *absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together*. A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Turkey, or in Russia in past centuries. But absolutism is likely to develop centralized agencies, as Russia has been doing rapidly of late.

Under a great genius, like Napoleon the First, a centralized government may for a time produce rapid benefits. But the system always decays, and it *does nothing to educate the people politically*. Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is *surer in the long run*.

II. CONSTANTINE AND THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

558. From Diocletian to Constantine, 305-312. — In 305, Diocletian laid down his power, to retire to private life,¹ persuading his colleague Maximian to do the same. The two Caesars became emperors, — *Galerius* in the East and *Constantius* in the West. Each appointed a Caesar as an assistant and successor. But Constantius died in a few months, before the



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE TO-DAY. — This arch was erected at Rome to commemorate the victory at the Milvian Bridge.

position of the new Caesars was firmly established, and this misfortune plunged the empire into new strife. For eight years civil war raged between six claimants for the throne. Then, in 312, *Constantine*, son of Constantius, by the victory of

¹ When pressed to assume the government again during the disorders that followed, Diocletian wrote from his rural retreat: "Could you come here and see the vegetables that I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no more talk to me of empire."

the *Milvian Bridge* (near Rome), established himself as emperor in the West. The next year, *Licinius*, the ally of Constantine in the civil war, became emperor in the East.

559. Constantine the Great, 312–337.—After a few years of joint rule, the two emperors quarreled, and a new civil war made Constantine sole master. For fourteen years more he reigned as sole emperor. But though he abandoned the system of “partnership emperors” during his own life, yet in all other respects he preserved the reforms of Diocletian. Indeed, he perfected them, standing to Diocletian somewhat as the first Augustus stood to Julius Caesar. He was a far-sighted, broad-minded, unscrupulous statesman, and his work, with that of Diocletian, enabled the Empire to withstand unbroken the storms of another hundred and fifty years and preserved a great part of it for ten centuries more.

Constantine definitely removed the capital of the Empire from Rome. He established it at Byzantium, which he rebuilt with great magnificence, and which took from him its new name, — *Constantinople*, “Constantine’s city.” For this removal there were several wise reasons, political, military, economic, and perhaps religious. (1) The turbulent Roman populace still clung to the *name* of the old Republic, and an eastern city would afford a more peaceful home for the Oriental monarchy now established. (2) Lying between the Danube and the Euphrates, Constantinople was a more convenient center than Rome from which to look to the protection of the frontiers. (It must be understood that the Persians were still thought the chief danger to the empire.) (3) Constantinople was admirably situated to become a great center of commerce: thus she could support a large population by her own industries far better than Rome, which had little means of producing wealth. (4) It is often said also that Constantine wished a capital which he could make Christian more easily than was possible with Rome, attached as the Roman people were to the old gods connected with the glories of the city.

This last consideration introduces us to the most important part of Constantine’s work (§ 560).

560. Constantine favors the Church: Motives.—Happily for the world, Constantine put an end forever to the persecutions against Christians, and established Christianity as the most favored religion of the empire. This was the leading event

of the fourth century, overtopping even the political reorganization.¹

The immediate occasion of the victory of Christianity was the shrewd statesmanship of Constantine during the civil wars. The Christians still were less than one tenth the population of the empire, but they were the strongest force within it. They were energetic and enthusiastic; they were massed in the great cities, which held the keys to political power; and they were admirably organized for rapid, united action.

It is not likely that Constantine gave much thought to the truth of Christian doctrine,² and we know that he did not practice Christian virtues. But he was wise enough to recognize the good policy of allying this rising power to himself against his rivals. He may have seen, also, in a broader and unselfish way, the folly of trying to restore the old pagan world, and have felt it desirable to bring about harmony between the government and this new power within the empire, so as to utilize its strength instead of always combating it.³

561. Steps in the Victory of Christianity.—At the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge (§ 558), Constantine's standard bore the Christian symbol of the cross. The next year (313), at his western capital Milan, he issued the famous decree known as the *Edict of Milan*: "We grant to the Christians and to all others free choice to follow the mode of worship they may wish, in order that whatsoever divinity and celestial

¹ The victory of Christianity just at this time enabled it to conquer also the barbarians, who were soon to conquer the empire. If they had not been converted before they became conquerors, it would have become almost impossible to convert them all. This is what Freeman means (*Chief Periods*, 67) when he calls the conversion of the Roman Empire the "leading fact in all history from that time onward," because, "*where Rome led, all must follow.*"

² Constantine's father, however, had been favorably inclined toward the Christians, and had tried to protect them in his prefecture (Gaul and Britain) during the persecution of Diocletian.

³ For further reading on the "conversion of Constantine," see Carr, ch. iv; Uhlhorn, 420-444, or the large church histories, if accessible, like Schaff, III, 11-37, and Alzog, I, 463-473.

power may exist may be propitious to us and to all who live under our government."

This edict established *religious toleration*. At a later time Constantine showed many favors to the Church, granting money for its buildings, and exempting the clergy from taxation (cf. § 518). But it is not correct to say that he made Christianity the state religion. At the most he seems to have given it an especially favored place among the religions of the empire.

Constantine himself continued to make the public sacrifices to the pagan gods; but, partly as a result of the favor he showed the Church, both court and people passed over rapidly to the new religion.

The struggle between Constantine and Licinius for sole power (§ 559) was also in part a decisive conflict between Christianity and paganism. The followers of the old faiths rallied around Licinius, and before the final battle that general is said to have addressed his soldiers with these words (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, II, 5): —

"These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remote ancestors. But he who leads the army opposed to us has proven false to the religion of his fathers and has adopted atheistic sentiments, honoring, in his infatuation, some strange and unheard-of deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces the army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms . . . not so much against us as against the gods he has forsaken. *However, the present occasion shall decide . . . between our gods and those our adversaries profess to honor.* For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true helpers and saviours; or else if the god of Constantine, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities . . . let no one henceforth doubt what god he ought to worship."

Whether or not Licinius used such words, many of his followers were influenced by these feelings. Accordingly, the victory of Constantine was accepted as a verdict in favor of Christianity, and before the end of the century Christianity became the state religion.¹

¹ On the privileges and powers of the clergy, see Robinson's *Readings*, I, 23-26.

III. THE EMPIRE FROM THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE END OF THE UNITED EMPIRE—CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS (337-395).

562. From Constantine to Julian ; the Last Attempt to restore Paganism.—Constantine divided the empire at his death between his three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius. These princes, in true oriental fashion, massacred many relatives whose ambition they feared, and then warred among themselves. After thirteen years, Constantius became sole emperor. He proved, however, an inefficient ruler, and the realm was invaded repeatedly by Persians and Germans.

Finally the Alemanni, a German people, broke into Gaul and seemed about to become masters of that province. This peril summoned *Julian*, a cousin of Constantius, from his studies at Athens. The youthful philosopher was given command of the imperial armies in Gaul. He defeated the Alemanni in a great battle at *Strasburg*, and drove them again beyond the Rhine. The enthusiastic army, against his will, saluted him emperor, and soon afterward, on the death of Constantius, he succeeded to the throne.

Julian would have preferred to live the quiet life of a student, but he made a strong ruler. He spent his energy, however, in conflict with two forces, both of which were to prove victorious,—the barbarians and the church. This reign saw the last attempt to restore paganism. Julian had been brought up in the Christian faith (so that he is sometimes called “Julian the Apostate”); but his studies had inspired in him a love for the pagan Greek philosophy, and he was filled with disgust at the crimes and vices of his cousins’ “Christian” court. He established the worship of the old gods as the religion of the state, rebuilt the ruined temples, and restored the pagan emblems to the standards of the armies. He wrote also, with considerable ability, against Christian doctrines. He did not try, however, to use violence against the church, and, except in the court, his efforts had little result.

Indeed, he had little time to work in, for after two years (361-363) he fell in a victorious battle in a brilliant campaign against the Persians, and his successor restored Christianity as the worship of the empire.¹

563. From Julian to Theodosius : the Last Attempt at "Partnership Emperors." — On Julian's death, one of his officers, *Jovian*, was chosen emperor in the camp; and when he died, a few months later, the officers elected the vigorous *Valentinian* to succeed him. Valentinian restored the system of "partnership emperors." He kept the West under his own control and assigned the East to his brother *Valens*.

Valentinian (364-375) was harsh and cruel,² but an able soldier. The Alemanni, who had again broken across the Rhine, were repulsed, and other German tribes were chastised. He was succeeded in the West by his son *Gratian* (375-383). In the East, Valens was proving himself weak as well as cruel. The Goths, a German people, were allowed (376 A.D.) to cross the Danube, to find homes as subjects within the empire (§ 589). Enraged by the deceit of imperial officials, these barbarians soon rose in rebellion, and defeated and slew Valens in the battle of *Adrianople* (378 A.D.).

In the West, Gratian had in name associated his half-brother, *Valentinian II*, in the government; but Valentinian was a mere child, and now, in the great danger of the empire, Gratian gave the throne of the invaded East to *Theodosius*, an experienced general. Theodosius (379-395) pacified the Goths and restored order. On the death of Gratian, he succeeded to the real authority in the West also, although the young Valentinian was allowed to keep the name of emperor until his death in 392. During the remaining three years of his life

¹ According to a legend of later growth, when Julian felt the Persian arrow which gave him a mortal wound, he cried out (addressing Christ), "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" He lived two days in much pain, and spent the hours in talking with his friends about the immortality of the soul.

² Special report: anecdotes of Valentinian.

Theodosius was sole emperor, even in name. *This was the last real union of the whole empire under one ruler.*

Theodosius prohibited pagan worship, on pain of death. This ardent support of Christianity makes more striking a remarkable penance to which a bishop of the church subjected him. The Goths had been admitted into the army, especially in the East. Many quarrels took place between them and the inhabitants of the great cities, and at last a number of Gothic officers were massacred by the citizens of Thessalonica. In rage Theodosius gave orders for a terrible punishment. By his command the Gothic army in the guilty city surrounded the theater where the great body of inhabitants were assembled for the games, and killed men, women, and children without mercy. At the time Theodosius was at the western capital, Milan. When next he attended church, the bishop *Ambrose* sternly forbade him to enter, stained as he was with innocent blood. The emperor obeyed the priest. He withdrew humbly and accepted the penance which *Ambrose* imposed, and then, some months later, was received again to the services.

564. Final Division of the Empire. — On the death of Theodosius, the empire was again divided between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. More truly than any previous division, this was a real separation. After 395 there was “The Empire in the East” and “The Empire in the West.” The two were still *one* in theory, but in practice they grew apart and even became hostile powers.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Pelham, 551-571; Gardner's *Julian*; Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius*; Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, 21-33.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

(*A Topical Study.*)

I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

565. Organization: One "Catholic" Church. — As the church extended its sway, it adopted in its government the territorial divisions of the empire. Its chief officers, too, in a measure corresponded to the grades of the civil state.

The early Christian missionaries to a province naturally went first to the chief city there. Thus the capital of a province became the seat of the first church in the district. From this church, as a mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from each city there sprouted outlying parishes. The head of the church in each city was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the lower clergy and the rural churches of the neighborhood.¹ Gradually the bishop of the mother church in the capital city came to exercise great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop* or *metropolitan*; and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops to a central council.

The next step was to exalt one of these metropolitans in a civil diocese above the others. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan of the chief city of the diocese. Thus, over much of the empire, the diocese, also, became an ecclesiastical unit, and its chief metropolitan was known as *patriarch*.

¹ At the head of each parish was a *priest*. Below the priests were officers known as deacons and subdeacons, with special care of the poor. Then there were also the "minor" orders — acolyte, exorcist, reader, doorkeeper. Special report: the life and work of a bishop in the early Christian Empire.

By degrees, this process toward a monarchic, centralized government was carried still further. The patriarchs of a few great centers were exalted above the others. Finally all the East became divided between the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, while all the West came under the authority of the bishop of Rome.¹

*This unity of organization, with its tendency toward a single head, helped to develop the idea of a single "Catholic" (all-embracing) church, which should rule the whole world. After 300, this idea is never lost sight of.*²

566. Growth of a Body of Doctrine; the Nicene Creed and the Arian Heresy. — The first Christians did not concern themselves with fine distinctions in doctrine. By degrees, however, the church came to contain the educated classes and men trained in the philosophical schools. These scholars brought with them into the church their philosophical thought; and the simple teachings of Christ were expanded and modified by them into an elaborate system of theology.

Thus, as Christianity borrowed the admirable organization of its government from Rome, so it drew the refinement of its doctrine from Greece. Before this Semitic faith could become the faith of Europe, as Freeman says, "its dogmas had to be defined by the subtlety of the Greek intellect, and its political organization had to be wrought into form by the undying genius of Roman rule."

But when the leaders of the church tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the orthodox doctrine, and the views of the minority became heresy. Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ.

¹ These eastern cities were nearly enough equal in importance to be rivals; but there was no city in the West that could rival Rome. This fact accounts in large measure for the authority of the bishop of Rome over so large an area. In the West the term diocese never had an ecclesiastical meaning corresponding to its civil use, but was applied to smaller units.

² See Robinson's *Readings*, I, 19-21, for a third century statement. For the Roman Catholic view to-day, see § 658, note.

This was the case with the great *Arian heresy*. Arius, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. Athanasius, of the same city, asserted that Christ was not only divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal in all respects, "of the same substance" and "co-eternal." The struggle waxed fierce and divided Christendom into opposing camps. But the Emperor Constantine desired union in the church. If it split into hostile fragments, his reasons for favoring it would be gone. Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the empire to a great council at Nicaea,¹ in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement.

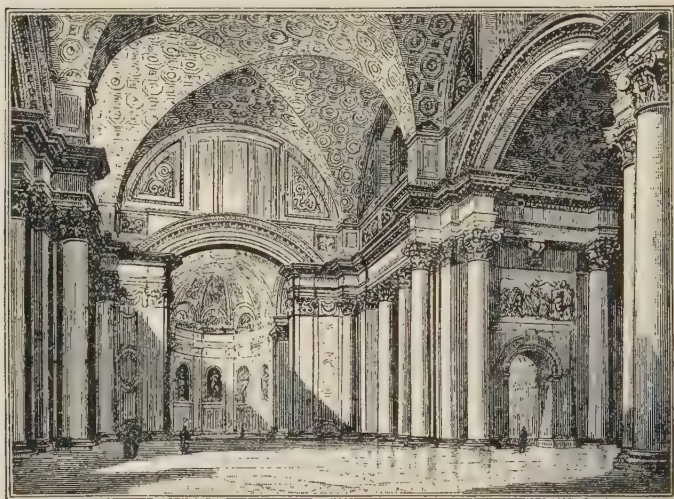
Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius; and his opinion, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom. Arianism was condemned, and Arius and his followers were excluded from the church and persecuted. This heresy was to play an important part, however, in later history. Its disciples converted some of the barbarian peoples, who brought back the faith with them into the empire when they conquered it (§§ 590–595, 606).²

567. Persecution by the Church. — Diocletian's persecution was the last which the church had to endure. In 312, as we saw, Christianity secured perfect toleration for its worship, and, soon after, it was given an especially favored place among the religions of the empire. Almost at once it began itself to use violence to stamp out other religions. The Emperor Gratian (§ 563) permitted orthodox Christians to prevent the worship of those Christian sects which church councils

¹ This was the first council representing the whole church.

² Special reports: the careers of Arius and Athanasius after the Council of Nicaea; other early heresies, especially that of the *Gnostics* and that of the *Manichaeans*, and the church councils that dealt with them. (The sect of Manichaeans arose in the East and was influenced by the Persian religion with its two powers of good and evil; § 61. According to this heresy, God was not all-powerful, but the devil existed and worked as an independent power.)

declared heretical; and the great Theodosius forbade all pagan worship (§ 563).¹ Paganism did survive for a century more, in out-of-the-way places,² but Christianity had now become the sole legal religion. Heathen temples and idols were destroyed; the philosophical schools were broken up;³ and adherents of



HALL OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN: now the Church of St. Mary of the Angels.

the old faiths were put to death. This deplorable policy was opposed in vain by some of the greatest of the Fathers, as by *Augustine* and *Chrysostom* (§ 579).

In centuries to come this persecution by the church dwarfed into insignificance even the terrible persecutions it had suffered. The motive, too,

¹ See various decrees in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 23, 26-27.

² Hence the name *pagans*, from a Latin word meaning rustics. From a like fact the Christian Germans at a later time came to describe the remaining adherents of the old worship as *heathens* (heath-dwellers).

³ Special report: the story of the pure and noble *Hypatia*, of Alexandria. Read Kingsley's novel, *Hypatia*. See a terrible five-page summary of early persecutions by the Christians in Lecky, *European Morals*, II, 194-198.

differed widely from that of the old imperial persecution. It was not political. In general, each persecuting sect since has justified its action on the ground that belief in its particular faith was necessary to salvation. Therefore it seemed right and merciful to torture the bodies of heretics in order to save their souls and to protect the souls of others. Under cover of such theory, there now began a dark and bloody chapter in human history — to last over twelve hundred years.

568. Effect of the Conversion of the Empire. — The conversion of the empire produced less improvement *politically* than we should have expected. In general the church fell in with the despotic tendencies of the times, so far as human government was concerned. But upon other institutions its purifying influence was marked. It mitigated slavery; it made suicide¹ a crime; it built up a vast and beneficent system of charity;² and it deserves almost sole credit for the rapid abolition of the gladiatorial games.³ The deeper results, in the hearts of individual men and women, history cannot trace directly.

But no event of this kind can work in one direction only. The pagan world was converted at first more in form than in spirit, and paganism reacted upon Christianity. The victory was in part a compromise. The pagan Empire became Christian, but the Christian church became, to some degree, imperial and pagan. When it conquered the barbarians, soon afterward, it became to some degree barbarian. The gain enormously exceeded the loss; but there did take place a sweeping change from the earlier Christianity.

FOR FURTHER READING on the church in the fourth century: Carr's *The Church and the Empire*, 27-139; Fisher's *History of the Christian Church*; Lecky's *European Morals*, II; Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*; Newman's *Arians*. The canons and creeds are given in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 2; other valuable source extracts are found in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, chs. ii, iv.

¹ Most of the great pagans looked upon suicide as perfectly excusable (though Socrates had condemned it as cowardly), and its practice had been growing frightfully common.

² Read Lecky, *European Morals*, II, 79-98.

³ *Ib.*, 36-38.

II. SOCIETY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

569. Growing Exhaustion of the Empire. — The three quarters of a century after the reunion of the empire under Constantine were marked by a fair degree of outward prosperity. But the secret forces that were sapping the strength of society continued to work, and early in the coming century the empire was to crumble under barbarian attacks. These inroads were no more formidable than those which had so often been rebuffed. Apparently they were weaker. The barbarians, then, are not to be considered as the chief cause of the "Fall." The causes were internal. The Roman Empire was overthrown from without by an ordinary attack, *because it had grown weak within.*

This weakness was not due, in any marked degree at least, to decline in the army. The army kept its superb organization, and to the last was so strong in its discipline and its pride that it was ready to face any odds unflinchingly.¹ But more and more it became impossible to find men to fill the legions, or money to pay them. Dearth of men and of money was the cause of the fall of the state. The empire had become a shell.²

570. The Classes of Society. — The Roman society of the fourth and fifth centuries differed widely from that of the first three centuries. At the top was the emperor to direct the machinery of government. At the bottom were the peasantry and artisans to produce food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between these extremes were two aristocracies, — an

¹ Read Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 288-291.

² The older writers explained the decay on moral grounds. Recent scholars are at one in recognizing, first, that the moral decay of Roman society has been greatly exaggerated, and, secondly, that the immediate causes of decline were political and economic. On the exaggeration of the moral decline, read Dill, *Roman Society*, bks. ii and iii (especially pp. 115-131 and 227-228); Seeley, *Roman Imperialism*, especially 54-64; and Adams, *Civilization*, 79-81. Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, Lecture II, gives graphic statement of the older but unhistorical view. If read, it should be corrected by Dill's treatment of the same authorities.

imperial aristocracy for the empire at large, and a local aristocracy in as many sections as there were cities (§§ 571, 572).

571. The senatorial nobility, the higher aristocracy, now included many nobles who never sat in the Senate either at Rome or at the new capital Constantinople. It had swallowed up the old senatorial class of Rome, and most of the knights. It was "a nobility of office": that is, a family lost its rank, unless from time to time it furnished officials to the empire.¹

A noble of this class possessed great honor and some important privileges. He was a citizen of the whole empire, not of one municipality alone, and he did not have to pay *local* taxes. He bore, however, heavy imperial burdens. He might be called upon at any moment for ruinous expenses at the capital, in fulfilling some imperial command,² or he might be required to assume some costly office at his own expense, on a distant frontier. But only a few individuals were actually ruined by such duties, and the lot of the great majority was enviable.

572. The Curials.³—Below the imperial nobility was the local nobility. Each city had its senate, or curia. The curials were not drafted into the armies, as the lower classes might be, nor were they subject to bodily punishment. They managed the finances of their city, and to some degree still (§§ 500, 501) they controlled its other local affairs. Those curials who rose to the high magistracies, however, had to bear large expense in providing shows and festivals for their fellow townsmen, and all curials had costly duties in supplying the poor with corn.

More crushing still to this local nobility were the imperial burdens. The chief imperial tax was the land tax. The needs of the Empire caused the amount to be increased steadily, while the ability of the people to pay steadily decreased. The curials

¹ The principle seems to have been not unlike that of the modern Russian nobility. Advanced students may refer to Leroy-Beaulieu's *Tsars and the Russians*, I, bk. vi.

² Read Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 249, or Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, 37-42.

³ There is an admirable account in Dill, 250-262.

were made the collectors of this tax in their city, and were held personally responsible for any deficit.

This duty was so undesirable that the number of curials tended to fall away. To secure the revenue, the emperors tried to prevent this decrease. The curials were made a hereditary class and were bound to their office. They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to move from city to city, or even to travel without special permission.

A place in the senate of his city had once been the highest ambition of a wealthy middle-class citizen; but in the fourth century it had become almost an act of heroism to assume the duty.¹ Indeed, as the position grew more and more unendurable, desperate attempts were made to escape at any sacrifice. Of course the desirable escape was into the imperial nobility, but this was possible only to a few. Others, despite the law, sought refuge in the artisan guilds, in the church, — or even in serfdom, in a servile marriage, or in flight to the barbarians.²

573. The Middle Class. — Between the curials and the laborers came a small middle class of traders, small landowners, and professional men. When any one of these acquired a certain amount of land, he was compelled by law to become a curial; but the general drift was for them to sink rather than rise.

574. The Artisans were grouped in guilds, or colleges, each with its own organization. Each member was bound to his guild, as the curial to his office.

575. The Peasantry had become serfs.³ That is, they were bound to their labor on the soil, and changed masters with the land they tilled.

¹ A story is told that in a Spanish municipality a public-spirited man voluntarily offered himself for a vacancy in the curia, and that his fellow-citizens erected a statue in his honor.

² See Robinson's *Readings*, I, 29.

³ Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 161-163; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, I, 28-32, and III, 418-421; Dill, *Roman Society*, 262-266; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, ch. ii. The teacher will see the need of guarding the students against thinking of serfdom as a result of the barbarian conquests and of the later feudalism.

In the latter days of the Republic, the system of great estates which had blighted Italy earlier (§§ 396-398), began to curse province after province outside Italy. Free labor disappeared before slave labor; grain culture declined; and large areas of land ceased to be tilled.

To remedy this state of affairs in part, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they gave large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure a hereditary class of agricultural laborers, and so keep up the food supply. The *coloni* were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land*.

They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate*. They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

Augustus began this system on a small scale, and it soon became a regular practice to dispose thus of vanquished tribes. This made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to maintain himself. That class sank into serfs; but it had been on the high road to extinction anyway. On the other hand, the slaves *rose* into serfs, until nearly all cultivators of the soil were of this order.

This institution of *coloni* was to last for hundreds of years, under the name of serfdom, and it was to help change the ancient slave organization of labor into the modern free organization. From the point of view of the slave, it was an immense gain. At the moment, however, it was one more factor in killing out the old middle class and in widening the gap between the nobles and the small cultivators.

In the fourth century, too, the lot of the *coloni* had become miserable. They were crushed by imperial taxes, in addition to the rent due their landlord; and in Diocletian's time, in Gaul, they rose in desperate revolt against the upper classes, to plunder, murder, and torture. This was a terrible forerunner of the peasant-risings during the Middle Ages.

576. The Approach of a Caste System.— Thus society was crystallizing into castes. Not only had the peasantry become serfs, attached from generation to generation to the same plot of ground: the principle of serfdom was being applied to all classes. The artisan was bound to his hereditary gild, and the curial and the noble each to his hereditary order. Freedom of movement seemed lost. In its industries and its social relations as well as in government, the Empire was becoming despotic and Oriental.

577. Crushing Taxation.— The Empire was “a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine.” It collected taxes *in order* to fight barbarians. But the time came when the provincials began to dread the tax-collector more than the Goth. This was partly because of the decrease in ability to pay, and partly because the complex organization cost more and more. Says Goldwin Smith: “The earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that it was said that they who received taxes were more than they who paid them.” What made the burden more crushing was that the taxes were no longer spent (in any large measure) in aiding industry. They went to support the machinery of government and the luxury of the court. Moreover, the wealthiest classes succeeded in shifting the burden largely upon those least able to pay.

Thus, heavy as the taxation was, it produced too little. It yielded less and less. The revenues of the government shrank up. The empire suffered from a lack of wealth as well as from a lack of men.

578. Peaceful Infusion of Barbarians before the Conquest.— The only measure that helped fill up the gaps in population was the introduction of barbarians from without. This took place peacefully on a large scale; but so far as preserving the Empire was concerned, it was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

Not only was the Roman army mostly made up of Germans; whole provinces were settled mainly by them before their

kinsmen from without, in the fifth century, began in earnest to break over the Rhine. Conquered tribes had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier provinces, and friendly tribes had been admitted, to make their homes in depopulated districts. Thus as slaves, soldiers, coloni, subjects, the German world had been filtering into the Roman world, *until a large part of the empire was peacefully Germanized*. Even the imperial officers were largely Germans.

This infusion of new blood helped to renew the decaying population and to check the decline of material prosperity. The Germans within the empire, of course, took on Roman civilization and customs, in large measure; but at the same time, they kept a friendly feeling for their kinsmen and they retained some of their old customs and ideas. *The barrier between the Empire and its assailants melted away imperceptibly*. All this lessened the agony of the barbarian conquest, but it helped to make it possible.

FOR FURTHER READING on the internal decay and the causes of the "Fall." — Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, ch. ii. ("Landed Aristocracy and Beginnings of Serfdom"), and ch. iii. ("Taxation in the Fourth Century"); Oman's *Dark Ages*, chs. i, ii; Seeley's *Imperialism*, Lecture III; Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 76–88 (especially good). Advanced students may consult Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, I, 25–36; Dill's *Roman Society* (the best one work), bks. ii, iii; Taylor's *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, chs. ii–v; Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders*, II, 532–613, if accessible, and his article on "The Fall of the Roman Empire" in the *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898; (Mr. Hodgkin in this article does not even refer to moral causes.) Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius*, ch. ii, contains some valuable pages on Roman Society.

III. LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

579. Authors and Works: Theological Character of the Literature. — The great names in literature in the fourth century were almost all names of churchmen, and the writings were nearly all theological. In other lines, as in the third century, the period was one of intellectual decay. There were no more

poets, and no new discoveries in science. Even the old science and literature were neglected. The following table makes this apparent. (The most important names are italicized.)

a. The chief pagan writers were :—

Ammanianus, an Asiatic Greek soldier, the author of a spirited continuation of Tacitus' history ;

Eutropius, a soldier and the author of a summary of Roman history ;

Julian (the emperor), whose chief works were his Memoirs and a "Refutation" of Christianity.

b. Many Christian writers produced a flood of theological and argumentative works. Among them were :—

Ambrose (Saint), a Gallic lawyer, and afterward bishop of Milan (the bishop who disciplined the Emperor Theodosius) ; the author of many letters, sermons, and hymns ;

Anthony (Saint), an Egyptian hermit ;

Arius and *Athanasius* (§ 535) ;

Augustine (Saint), bishop of Hippo in Africa, author of many letters, commentaries, sermons, theological works ; probably the most widely known are his *Confessions* and *The City of God* ;

Basil (Saint) ;

Chrysostom (Saint), a famous orator ;

Eusebius, a bishop and the author of an ecclesiastical history ;

Jerome (Saint), a Syrian hermit, who translated the Bible into Latin (the *Vulgate*) and wrote controversial works ;

Martin (Saint), soldier, monk, and bishop of Tours, who established the first monastery in Gaul (famous for its beautiful manuscripts) ;

Ulfilas, a Gothic hostage, who became bishop and missionary among his people, converting them to *Arianism* ; he arranged a Gothic alphabet and translated the Bible into Gothic (the oldest literary work in a Teutonic language ; a copy in silver letters upon scarlet parchment is preserved in the library of Upsala University).

580. Unfavorable Attitude of the Christians toward Pagan Learning.—One cause of the rapid intellectual decline of the fourth century is that many Christians were hostile to pagan science and literature, while for a long time the Christian world produced little to take their place. The pagan poetry, beautiful as it was, was filled with stories of the old gods, and

these stories were often immoral. These facts explain in part why the Christians feared contamination from pagan literature.¹ The contempt for pagan science has less excuse, and its result was particularly unfortunate.

For instance, the spherical form of the earth was well known to the Greeks (§ 240); but the early Christians demolished the idea by theological arguments. "It is impossible," said St. Augustine, "there should be *inhabitants* on the other side of the earth, since no such race is recorded in Scripture among the descendants of Adam." Many argued in like tone that Scripture gave no warrant for believing the earth round, and that therefore it could not be so. "Besides," some of them added, "if it were round, how could all men see Christ at his coming?"

Even St. Jerome, an ardent scholar during most of his life, came at one time under the influence of this hostile feeling so far as to rejoice at the growing neglect of Plato and to warn Christians against pagan writers. In 398, a council of the church officially cautioned bishops against reading any books except religious ones; and the prevalent feeling was forcefully expressed a little earlier (350 A.D.) in a writing known as the "Apostolical Constitutions":—

"Refrain from all the writings of the heathens; For if thou wilt explore history, thou hast the Books of the Kings; or seekest thou for words of wisdom and eloquence, thou hast the Prophets, Job, and the Book of Proverbs, wherein thou shalt find a more perfect knowledge of all eloquence and wisdom, for they are the voice of the Lord, the only wise God. Or dost thou long for tuneful strains, thou hast the Psalms; or to explore the origin of things, thou hast the Book of Genesis; or for customs and observances, thou hast the excellent law of the Lord God. Wherefore abstain scrupulously from all strange and devilish books."

The Christians did not usually attend the public schools until the time of Constantine, and soon after that time they began to break up the old philosophical schools. The com-

¹ The attitude was somewhat like that of the Puritans of the seventeenth century toward the plays of Shakspeare and his fellow-dramatists. But in the third and fourth centuries the result was more disastrous, because then *all* literature and science were pagan.

plete extinction of these schools did not come until the barbarian invasions of the next century added to their difficulties; but many of the greatest of them had already been destroyed or replaced by schools of a much lower character for theological purposes only. The church was soon to become the mother and the sole protector of a new learning; but it has to bear part of the blame for the loss of the old.¹

581. Other and Deeper Causes of the Decay of Learning. — But this attitude of the Christians was not the main cause for the decay of learning. A deeper and more far-reaching cause lay in the general decline of the Roman world which we have discussed (§§ 569–577). That world, for the time at least, was exhausted. It had been growing weaker year by year, in government, in industry, in population, as well as in literature and science. Now it was to be torn down and rebuilt by a more vigorous people.

REVIEW EXERCISE FOR PART V.

1. Add the dates 284, 325, 378, to the list.
2. Extend list of terms and names for fact drill.
3. Memorize a characterization of the centuries of the Empire; *i.e.* —
First and second centuries: good government, — happy, peaceful, prosperous.
Third century: general decline, — material, political, and intellectual.
Fourth century: revival of imperial power; victory of Christianity.
Fifth and sixth centuries (in advance): barbarian invasions and conquests.
4. Review the growth of the Christian church through the whole period.
5. Review briefly the movement in literature and science.

¹ See Laurie, *Rise of Universities*, 19–27; or Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, 62–64. Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 1–47, gives an interesting treatment of early Christian culture somewhat different from that presented in this volume.

PART VI.

ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE.

The settlement of the Teutonic tribes was not merely the introduction of a new set of ideas and institutions, . . . it was also the introduction of fresh blood and youthful mind — the muscle and brain which in the future were to do the larger share of the world's work.—GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

Before entering upon this final portion of Ancient History, it will be well to reread carefully the summaries in §§ 1-3, 65-67, 191, 226, and 252-254.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEUTONS.

582. Early Home of the Germans, and the Different Germanic Peoples. — The Teutons (Germans) came into our story first at the time of Marius (§ 434). At frequent intervals during the five centuries since that first invasion they had been beating fiercely upon the frontiers, and they had sent great swarms of their numbers, as prisoners and as peaceful colonists, to dwell within the empire. Now at last they were to break in as conquerors and rulers, introducing one of the great eras in history.

The Rhine and the Danube had long separated the barbaric German world from the Roman world. Between the Danube and the Baltic, north and south, and between the Rhine and the Vistula, east and west, roamed many tribes known to themselves by no one name, but all called Germans by the Romans. In the fifth century the more important groups were the Goths,

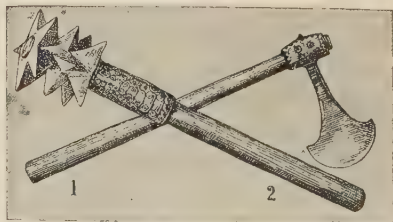
Burgundians, Vandals, Alemanni, Lombards, Franks, and Saxons. The Norsemen were to appear later.

583. Stage of Culture. — As opposed to the civilized Romans, the Germans had a strong family likeness; but among themselves they showed wide differences.¹ The distant tribes were savage and un-



A DOLMEN OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

organized. Those nearer the Empire had taken on more civilization and had moved toward a stronger political union, under the rule of kings; but in general they seem to have been little, if at all, above the level of the better North American Indians. They had no cities, but their important villages were surrounded by palisades, like the Iroquois villages. They lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and what little agriculture they had was managed by women or slaves. They had no true alphabet (except the Gothic, invented by Ulphilas, § 579) and no literature, except simple ballads.² They had no money, and their trade was barter. Skins or rude cloths formed their clothing, but the nobler warriors possessed chain mail and wore helmets crested with plumes, horns, dragons, and other strange devices.



BATTLE-AX AND MACE. — Arms of Teutonic chieftains in an early period.

¹ Read Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 301, for illustrations.

² Special topic: the Runes.

584. Character. — Tacitus says of the Germans, as a whole : —

“They have stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labor. Thirst and heat overcome them, but from the nature of their soil and climate they are proof against cold and hunger.” — *Germania*, iv.

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests had helped to make them excessive drunkards and immoderate eaters, and when not engaged in war they spent day after day in sleep or gluttony. They were desperate gamblers, too, and, when other wealth was gone, they would stake even their liberty upon the throw of the dice.

At the same time, they do seem to have possessed some peculiar traits not common in savage races. Women were revered. Tacitus (§ 526) dwells upon the excellence of their family life. “The married state,” he says, “is a life of affection, and it is kept pure.” They revered truth and fidelity. Their grim joy in fighting rose to fierce delight in battle, and sometimes to a “Baersark” rage that knew no peril and made men insensible to wounds. In particular, they possessed a proud spirit of individual liberty (in contrast with the Roman devotion to the State), a “high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man,” which was to influence profoundly later European history.

Another quality is especially important. The Germans resembled the Hebrews in a serious, earnest, imaginative temperament, which has made their Christianity differ widely from that of the clear-minded, sunnier peoples of Southern Europe. They felt the solemn mystery of life, with its shortness of days, its sorrows, and unsatisfied longings; and this inspired in them, not unmanly despair nor light recklessness, but a heroism tinged with melancholy. In the *Song of Beowulf* (an old poem that has come down to us from the German forests) the chieftain, about to go out to an almost hopeless encounter

with a terrible dragon that had been destroying his people, exclaims:—

“Each man must abide the end of his life work; let him that may work, work his doomed deeds ere night come.”

And, again, as he sits by the dragon mound, victorious, but dying:—

“These fifty winters have I ruled this folk; no folk-king of folk-kings about me—not any one of them—dare in the war-strife welcome my onset! Time’s change and chances I have abided; held my own fairly; sought not to snare men; oath never sware I falsely against right. So, for all this, may I glad be at heart now, sick though I sit here, wounded with death-wounds!”

The same trait of mingled gloom and heroism is seen in a striking feature of their religion (at least as it finally developed in Iceland). This was the belief in the “Twilight of the Gods.” Heroes who had fought a good fight on earth were to reap their reward hereafter in fighting beside the gods, the powers of Light and Warmth, against the evil giants of Cold and Darkness; but in the end the gods and heroes were all to perish before the powers of evil. With these Teutons, says John Richard Green, “life was built, not on the hope of a hereafter, but on the proud self-consciousness of noble souls.”

A story connected with the conversion of the Germans in Britain, after they had conquered that island, illustrates the same trait. The pagan king of Northumbria sat among his chieftains, and the missionaries had just spoken. Then arose an aged chief:—“O king, what is this life of man? Is it not as a sparrow’s flight through the hall when one sits at meat of an evening in wintertide? Within is light and warmth and song; without, cold, darkness, and icy rain. Then the sparrow flies in at one door, tarries a moment in the warmth, and, flying forth from the other door, vanishes again into the dark. Such, O king, seems the life of man; and if this new teaching can tell us aught certain of the time before and after, let us follow it.”

585. Religion.—The old German religion was a rude polytheism, based on nature worship. The chief place was held by the worship of *Woden*, the war god. From him the noble

families all claimed descent. *Thor*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. *Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.¹

The Franks and Saxons when they broke into the empire (§§ 596, 597) were still heathen. All the other tribes that settled in the empire in the fifth century had just become converts to *Arian* Christianity, through the labors of Arian exiles. (Cf. *Ulfilas* among the Goths, § 579.)

586. Political Organization.—Tacitus shows the Germans, organized in three political units, — village, canton, and tribe. The village was originally no doubt the home of a clan. The village and the tribe each had its popular Assembly with its hereditary chief. The tribal chief, or king, was surrounded by his council of smaller chiefs. To quote Tacitus:—

“In the election of kings they have regard to birth; in that of generals to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their generals command less through the force of authority than of example. If they are daring, adventurous, and conspicuous in action, they procure obedience from the admiration they inspire.” — *Germania*, 7.

“On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people is first discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on this occasion a coercive power. Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard; and gain attention rather from *their ability to persuade, than their authority to command*. If a proposal displeases the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms. In the same assemblies, chiefs are also elected to administer justice through

¹ Compare with Greek deities, § 88. These Teutonic gods live still in our names for the days of the week. Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day are easily recognized in their modern dress. Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two obscure gods, *Tiw* and *Saetere*, or the latter perhaps from the Latin *Saturn*, while the remaining two days are the Moon's day and the Sun's day.

the cantons and districts. A hundred companions, chosen from the people, attend upon each of them, to assist them as well with their advice as their authority."¹ — *Ib.* 11, 12.

587. The "Companions." — One peculiar institution must be noted. A great chief was surrounded by a band of "companions," who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side. To them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder; for the honor and safety of their "lord" they devoted their energies and lives. The element of *personal loyalty* in this relation of "companion" and lord was to influence the development of later European feudalism. In Germany itself the class of companions seems to have been made up largely of outlaws or adventurers skilled in arms. It grew in importance, however, after the invasions, and finally developed into the nobility of later Europe (§ 642 *b*).

588. The Charm of the South. — The sunny south, with the wonders and riches of its strange civilization, fascinated these savages with a potent spell. For five hundred years they had been striving to enter in and possess it. The pressure of fiercer barbarians behind them and of their own increasing population had produced certain periods of special effort, and sometimes they had burst in for brief periods of plunder. Always hitherto they had been driven out again by some Marius, Caesar, Aurelius, Aurelian, Diocletian, or Julian. All this time, however, they were learning to unite into larger confederations, and to act together in their attacks. Now, about the year 400, in the exhaustion of the empire, they began at last to come in to stay.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Sources: our two chief authorities for the early Germans are Caesar and Tacitus. Caesar drew his knowledge largely from the Gauls, and his treatment is provokingly brief (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*, bk. iv, chs. 1-3; and vi, chs. 21-24). Tacitus,

¹Cf. the early Greek political organization, §§ 82-84.

In his *Germania*, treats them at length, but less as a skilled observer than as a moralist — to contrast their barbaric simplicity and virtue with the vices of Roman civilization. Guernsey Jones' *Source Extracts — Civilization in the Middle Ages* — contains twenty pages of extracts from the *Germania* and longer extracts are given in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, VI, No. 3. One of these should be accessible to every student.

Modern accounts: the three most readable treatments are the opening pages of Green's *English People*, Taine's *English Literature* (bk. i, ch. i, sections 1–3), and Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*, 1–16 ("The Forest Children"). The last is idealized. There are briefer valuable and scholarly accounts in Hodgkin's *Theodosius* (close of chapter ii), and in Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, I, 1–11.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. ix, gives a famous discussion. Kingsley protests indignantly against Gibbon's view of the stage of Teutonic culture; but see Adams' *Civilization*, 7, 8.

CHAPTER II.

THE WANDERING OF THE PEOPLES—FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES. — (376-565 A.D.)

How can a man draw a picture of that which has no shape; or tell the order of absolute disorder? It is all . . . like the working of an ant-heap; like the insects devouring each other in a drop of water. Teuton tribes, Slavonic tribes, Tartar tribes, Roman generals, empresses, bishops, courtiers, adventurers, appear for a moment out of the crowd,—dim phantoms . . . and then vanish, proving their humanity only by leaving behind them one more stain of blood. — CHARLES KINGSLEY.

I. THE TEUTONS BREAK OVER THE BARRIERS.

A. THE DANUBE (376-378 A.D.).

589. Admission of the West Goths into the Empire; Battle of Adrianople.—The event which we now recognize as the first step in the victory of the Teutons seemed at the time only a continuation of an old policy of the Empire. Many tribes had been admitted within the boundaries as allies (§ 578) and had proven faithful defenders of the frontiers. In 376, such a measure was repeated on a vast scale.

The story has been told briefly in § 563. The whole people of the West Goths (*Visigoths*) appeared on the Danube fleeing from the more terrible Huns—wild, nomadic horsemen from Tartary. Valens, emperor of the East, granted the prayers of the fugitives, allowed them to cross the Danube, and gave them lands south of the river. They were to give up their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. These agents embezzled the imperial funds and furnished vile and insufficient food, while at the same time, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to keep their arms.

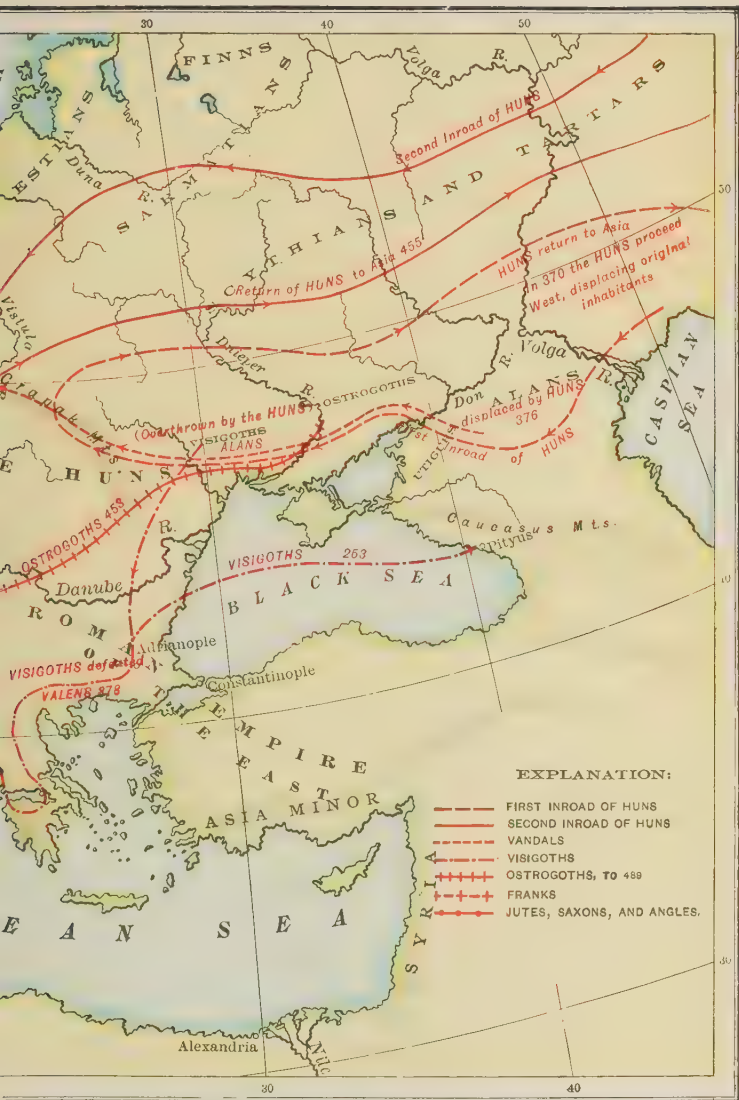
The Goths rose and marched on Constantinople. At *Adrianople* (378 A.D.) Valens was defeated and slain. This battle marks the beginning of the Teutonic conquest. The Goths ravaged the land up to the walls of the capital, but they could not storm a great city. The new emperor, Theodosius the Great, finally pacified them, and they remained peaceful settlers for nearly twenty years.

590. Alaric in Greece, Illyria, and Italy.—In 395, Theodosius died, and at once masses of the Goths rose under an ambitious young chieftain, *Alaric*, whom they soon made king of their nation. Alaric led his host into Greece. For a heavy ransom, he spared Athens, but he sacked Corinth, Argos, Sparta, and all the Peloponnesus. He was trapped there by the gigantic Vandal *Stilicho*, a general of Honorius, emperor of the West (§ 564); but finally the Goth either bought or maneuvered his way out, with all his plunder.

Arcadius, the terrified emperor of the East, then gave him a commission as “imperial lieutenant” in Illyria and Greece; and “there he staid, somewhere about the head of the Adriatic, poised like an eagle in mid air, watching Rome on one side and Byzant on the other, uncertain for a while on which quarry he should swoop.” In 402, he made up his mind for Rome. Stilicho, the Roman shield, beat him off in two battles; and he drew back for a few years more into Illyria.

591. The Sack of Rome, 410 A.D.—Meanwhile Stilicho turned upon and destroyed a more savage horde of two hundred thousand wild Germans, who had poured down through the Alps under *Radogast* and were besieging Florence. Soon afterward Honorius, very possibly with good reason, suspected Stilicho of plotting to seize the throne, and had him murdered. The deed was signal enough for Alaric to try Italy once more. The weak Honorius hid himself in his impregnable fortress of Ravenna, defended by its marshes, and left the Goths free to work their will. Alaric captured Rome; and then for five days and nights that proud city was given up to





sack (410 A.D.)¹ — just 800 years after its capture by the Gauls (§ 327).

592. The Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. — Alaric then led his host south, intending to cross to Africa by way of Sicily; but he died² on the way, and was succeeded by his brother *Ataulf* (Adolph). Alaric had not been a mere destructive barbarian. He had great respect for Roman civilization and the Roman name, and when he captured Rome he ordered (an order not well obeyed) that the lives of the citizens should be spared and the treasures of the temples be left unmolested. Ataulf felt even more strongly the spell of Roman civilization. Said he:—

“It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire, taking to myself the place and the powers of Caesar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, . . . I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my power to replace.”

Meantime other Teutonic tribes had broken across the Rhine and were ravaging Gaul and Spain (§§ 593 ff.). Ataulf married the sister of the emperor and accepted a commission as his lieutenant to conquer these new invaders. He led his Goths out of Italy (which was what Honorius cared most for), conquered the Vandals who had seized Spain, and set up a Gothic kingdom there (414–419 A.D.). *This was the first permanent Teutonic state within the old empire.*

The Visigothic kingdom at first included much also of south Gaul; but that territory was to be lost in less than a century to the Franks (§ 619).

¹ The Romans had believed Rome the “Eternal City,” and the world was thrown into unspeakable consternation by its fall. The pagans explained it as a punishment for the desertion of the old gods. This view was important enough so that St. Augustine (§ 579) wrote his *City of God* to refute it and to show that the true “Eternal City” was not of this world. Extracts from this work are given in Robinson’s *Readings*, ch. iii. Dill’s *Roman Life in the Last Century of the Empire*, 303–314, has a good treatment of the moral effect of the capture of Rome.

² Special report: story of Alaric’s burial.

The kingdom in Spain lasted three hundred years, to the Mohammedan conquest (§ 655), and, centuries later, its fragments grew together again into the Spain of modern times.

B. THE RHINE.

593. The Bursting of the Barrier. — For nearly forty years after the departure of the West Goths, Italy had peace, but meantime all the rest of the West was lost. Even before the sack of Rome the Rhine frontier had given way. Clouds of Germans had long been massing on that river. After Alaric's first attack upon Italy, some of the Roman troops were withdrawn from the Rhine to strengthen that land; and, in 406, the barbarians forced a passage. Then, with little opposition, they spread themselves over Gaul and Spain. The leading peoples of the invasion were the *Burgundians* and the *Vandals*.

594. The Burgundians settled in Southeastern Gaul, where their name has always remained. A little later, under their king, *Gundobald*, they produced the *earliest written code of Teutonic law*. Like the Goths, too, they soon came to regard themselves, in a vague way, as living under the authority of the Empire. A Burgundian king, thanking the emperor for the title Patrician, writes:—

“My people is yours, and to rule them delights me less than to serve you. . . . Our ancestors have always preferred what an emperor gave to all their fathers could bequeath. In ruling our nation, we hold ourselves but your lieutenants: you, whose divinely appointed sway no barrier bounds, whose beams shine from the Bosphorus into distant Gaul, employ us to administer the remoter regions of your empire; your world is our Fatherland.”

595. The Vandal Kingdom in Africa. — The Vandals settled first in Spain. In 414 (§ 592), they were attacked by the West Goths. The struggle was long and stern; but, in 427, the Vandals withdrew, *crossing into Africa*. There, after ten years of fighting, they set up a new Teutonic kingdom with its capital at Carthage.

These Vandals were the most untamable of all the Teutonic peoples, and the word “Vandalism” has become a synonym

for wanton destructiveness. Seated at Carthage, they became pirates and terrorized the Mediterranean. They ravaged much of Sicily, and, in 455, under their king *Geiseric*, they invaded Italy and sacked Rome in a way that made Alaric's capture seem merciful. For fourteen days the barbarians ravaged the ancient capital, loading their ships with the spoils which Rome had plundered from all the world. At last Carthage was avenged, and Scipio's foreboding (§ 390) had come true.

To the infinite loss of the world, much of this plunder was engulfed in the Mediterranean in a storm which destroyed a large part of the fleet on its way back to Africa. The Vandal kingdom lasted about a century longer, until it was overthrown by Belisarius, general of the Eastern Emperor Justinian (§ 612). At that time Africa was again reunited to the Empire.

596. The Franks and Romans in North Gaul. — Another German people, the Franks, had long had homes on both sides of the lower Rhine, from Cologne to the sea. They had been "allies" of Rome; but now they began to add to their territory by spreading themselves slowly westward over North Gaul. In the end they proved the most important of all the Teutonic invaders, but their real advance was not to begin until toward the close of the century (§§ 616 ff.).

Meantime, in northwestern Gaul, a semblance of Roman authority was kept up by Roman generals, who were really independent sovereigns.

597. The Angles and Saxons in Britain. — In 408, the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy against Alaric, and, to the dismay of the inhabitants, that island was abandoned by the imperial government. For many years, in the latter part of Roman rule, fierce Saxon pirates had been cruelly harassing the eastern coasts, swooping down in their swift barks to burn, slay, and plunder; then sacrificing to Woden on the shore a tenth of their captives, and vanishing as swiftly as they came.¹

¹ Church's *Count of the Saxon Shore* is a readable novel dealing with this period of England's history.

The civilized, peaceful Britons were now left to defend themselves against these terrible German marauders as well as against the untamed Celts beyond the northern wall (§§ 485, 488). In despair, they finally called in the German raiders to beat off the other foe, and these dangerous protectors soon began to seize the land for themselves.

The chief invading tribes were the *Jutes* from the Danish peninsula (Jutland) and the *Saxons* and *Angles* (English) from its base. The Jutes made the first permanent settlement, about the middle of the century (449 A.D.), in southeastern Britain. The Saxons occupied the southern shore, and the Angles the eastern, carving out numerous petty states in a long series of cruel campaigns. Gradually these little units were welded into larger kingdoms, until there appeared seven prominent Teutonic states: *Kent*, the kingdom of the Jutes: *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons); and the English kingdoms of *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*. We sometimes call the group of seven kingdoms the *Heptarchy*.

This conquest, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. The inhabitants soon rallied and waged a gallant defense. It took the Germans a century and a half (until about 600) to extend their sway over the eastern half of the island.

II. THE HUNS.

598. New Barbarian Races.—The Roman world had long since come in contact with *Celts* (Gauls and Britons) in western Europe and with *Germans* in the central parts. In the southeast, beyond the Danube and the Goths, there had appeared also a new people, the *Slavs*, who were soon to play, east of the Adriatic, the part played by the Teutons on the west. Though barbarians, these three races, Celts, Germans, and Slavs, all showed some capacity for civilization. All of them, too, spoke languages allied in some measure to the Greek and Roman.

But somewhat before 400, as we have noted (§§ 563, 589), there appeared behind the Germans and Slavs a confused mass of ruder and more savage peoples, *Huns*, *Tartars*, *Finns*, *Avars*, pressing into Europe from the steppes of Asia. We call these invaders *Turanians*. They

seem to have belonged to different stocks from the European peoples, and to have resembled the ancient Scythians (§ 62). The pressure of these savages is said to have been one cause why the Teutons dashed so frantically upon the Roman barriers about the beginning of the fifth century. Now they themselves were to break in (§ 599).¹

599. The Hunnish Invasion; the Rallying of the West. — While the Teutons were busy setting up kingdoms in the crumbling Empire, they and the Romans were threatened for a moment with common ruin. *Attila*, king of the Huns, had built up a vast military power, reaching from central Asia into central Europe. It was his boast that grass never grew again where his horse's hoof had trod. Now, in the middle of the fifth century, his terrible hordes rolled resistlessly into Gaul.

Happily the peoples of the West realized their danger and laid aside all small rivalries to meet it. Theodoric, the hero-king of the Visigoths, brought up his hosts from Spain to fight under the Roman banner. Burgundian and Frank rallied from the corners of Gaul, and *Aëtius*,² "the Last of the Romans," marshaled all these allies and the last great Roman army of the West against the countless Hunnish swarms reënforced by Tartar, Slav, Finn, and even by tributary German peoples.

600. Battle of Chalons. — The fate of the world hung trembling in the balance, while the great "battle of the nations" was fought out at *Chalons* (451 A.D.). United though they were, the forces of civilization seemed insignificant before the innumerable hosts of the Asiatics. Theodoric fell gallantly, sword in hand. But at last the victory was won by the generalship of the hero *Aëtius*. *Attila* is said to have lost three hundred thousand men (greatly exaggerated numbers, no doubt); and with spent force his invasion rolled away to Italy and the East.

¹ Caution: the student must remember that the Slavs were not a branch of the Germans, but a distinct race. (From them came the modern Russians, Bulgarians, Poles, Bohemians, Servians.) In like manner, the Huns must be kept distinct from both Teutons and Slavs.

² Despite his Romanized name, *Aëtius* was a German; much of his youth had been spent among the Huns.

"That is the Hunnenschlacht; 'a battle,' as Jornandes¹ calls it, 'atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax.' Antiquity, he says, tells of nothing like it. No man who had lost that sight could say that he had seen aught worth seeing. A fight gigantic, supernatural in vastness and horror, and in the legends which still hang about the place. You may see one of them in Von Kaulbach's immortal design—the ghosts of the Huns and the ghosts of the Germans rising from their graves on the battle-night in every year, to fight it over again in the clouds, while the country far and wide trembles at their ghostly hurrah."—KINGSLEY, *Roman and Teuton*, 88.

"It was the perpetual question of history, the struggle told long ago by Herodotus, the struggle between Europe and Asia, the struggle between cosmos and chaos—the struggle between Aëtius and Attila. For Aëtius was the man who now stood in the breach, and sounded the Roman trumpet to call the nations to do battle for the hopes of humanity and defend the cause of reason against the champions of brute force. The menace of that monstrous host which was preparing to pass the Rhine was to exterminate the civilization that had grown up for centuries . . . and to paralyze the beginnings of Teutonic life. . . .

"But the interests of the Teutons were more vitally concerned at this crisis than [even] the interests of the empire. . . . Their nascent civilization would have been crushed under the yoke of that servitude which blights, and they would not have been able to learn longer at the feet of Rome the arts of peace and culture."—BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, I, 176.

601. Attila before Rome; Pope Leo.—Attila turned upon defenseless Rome; but the great Pope Leo journeyed to the camp, and by his intercession turned the Hun from his prey.² There may have been other causes to assist Leo. One ancient writer hints that Attila's army was wasting under Italian fever; and no doubt it was sadly harassed by the forces of Aëtius hanging upon its rear.

At all events, Attila withdrew from Italy and died shortly after. Then his empire fell to pieces, and the Teutons of Germany regained their freedom in another great battle, at *Netad*.

¹ A bishop and historian who wrote about a century after Chalons. A better spelling of the name is *Jordanes*.

² See Robinson's *Readings*, I, 49-51, for two ancient accounts.

One curious result followed Attila's invasion of Italy. To escape the Huns, some of the ancient Veneti (§ 261) of north-east Italy took refuge among swampy islands at the head of the Adriatic, and so began a settlement destined to grow into the great republic of Venice.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. A glimpse of Hun life (see Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, I, 213–223, and Robinson's *Readings*, 35–36, 47–49). 2. Attila's pretexts (see Bury, I, 175). 3. Aëtius.

III. ITALY IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

A. FROM ALARIC TO ODOVAKER.

602. The Empire in the West from the Division under the Sons of Theodosius to the Reunion with the East. — Early in the fifth century, as we have seen, Africa and all the provinces of the Empire west of Italy were abandoned to the Germans. The "Empire in the West" was restricted in actual power to Italy. It had its capital at Ravenna, amid the impenetrable swamps of the northeast; and there the line of "emperors in the West" lasted, after the division of the Empire between the sons of Theodosius, until Romulus Augustulus, in 476 (§ 604). During all this period of eighty years the real power was held by German generals whose ability supported the tottering throne. Until 455, however, this fact was much less clear than it was after that date (§§ 603, 604).

603. Story of the Emperors, 395–455. — The reign of *Honorius* (395–423), son of Theodosius the Great, has been referred to several times in the account of the Invasions. His great general *Stilicho the Vandal*, who had long held Alaric in check and who destroyed the hordes of Radogast (§§ 590, 591), was at last murdered by Honorius, lest he should grow too powerful. Then Alaric's Goths ravaged Italy and sacked Rome (410 A.D.). At the same time Britain was abandoned, and now Spain, with most of Gaul, was lost to Burgundians, Franks, Vandals, and Goths (§§ 592–596). Through the regard of Alaric's successor, Ataulf, for Roman civilization, Italy was freed from her invaders, and for forty years rested in comparative peace.

On the death of Honorius, Theodosius II, Emperor in the East, gave the western throne to *Valentinian III*, son of a daughter of Theodosius the Great. Valentinian, a weak and wicked prince, reigned from 425 to 455. Africa was lost to the Vandals, and German tribes began to establish themselves in Britain (§§ 595, 597). Such part of the Empire as was saved owed its preservation to Aëtius, an imperial general, who for many years upheld Roman authority in much of Gaul against the German peoples, and who finally united these Germans to repulse Attila at Chalons (§§ 599–601). Aëtius expected to marry his son to the daughter of the emperor, and so secure the throne for his family ; but Valentinian, jealous of his great protector, murdered him. Soon afterward Valentinian was himself murdered by a Roman senator *Maximus*, whose home he had outraged.

Maximus seized the throne and compelled Eudoxia, the widow of his victim, to marry him. Eudoxia invited Geiseric, king of the Vandals, to avenge her. The Vandals captured Rome (§ 595), and Maximus was slain in his flight, after a three months' reign.

604. Italy : Story of the Rulers from the Sack of Rome by Geiseric to the Reunion of Italy with the Empire in the East, 455–476.— After the Vandal raid, power in Italy fell to *Count Rikimer*, a German general, who in sixteen years (456–472) set up and deposed four puppet emperors. That is, at last *Rikimer did successfully what Honorius and Valentinian had suspected Stilicho and Aëtius of planning to do.*

Then *Orestes*, another general of the Empire, advanced a step beyond the policy of Rikimer. He deposed the reigning prince and set *his own son* upon the throne, while he himself ruled as the real power for four years, until he was overthrown and slain by *Odoaker*, yet another German officer in the imperial service.

Odoaker took another step in advance in the attack upon the Empire in the West. He dethroned the boy, *Romulus Augustus the Little*, the son of Orestes (476 A.D.), and sent him to live in luxurious imprisonment in a villa near Naples ; Odoaker then ruled *without even the form of an Emperor in Italy*. He did not, however, dare call himself king of Italy. Instead, he claimed to represent the distant emperor at Constantinople. At his command, the Senate of Rome sent to *Zeno* (then em-

peror in the East) the diadem and royal robes, urging that the West did not need a separate emperor. They asked, therefore, that Zeno receive the "diocese" of Italy as part of his dominion, and intrust its government to Odovaker as his lieutenant.¹

Thus, in name, Italy became a province of the Greek Empire,² and, *after 476,³ there was no emperor in the West for more than three hundred years.* Odovaker's power really rested upon the support of German tribes who made up the Roman army in the peninsula. Of one of these tribes (the Heruli) he was king. But with the native Italians his authority, in theory, came from his position as the representative of the emperor at Constantinople.

Odovaker tried to reconcile his German and his Roman subjects. He gathered about him Roman philosophers and statesmen, established good order, and ruled firmly for many years, until he was overthrown by a powerful German people whose king was to carry his work still further (§ 605).

B. THE KINGDOM OF THE EAST GOTHS IN ITALY.

605. The Ostrogoths before they entered Italy. — When the West Goths sought refuge south of the Danube in 376 (§ 593), an eastern division of the same race had submitted to the

¹ Cf. like commissions to Goths, Burgundians, and Franks (§§ 590, 592, 594, 630).

² For this name, see § 610.

³ The year 476 is sometimes said to have seen the "Fall of the Empire." The act of Odovaker in that year, however, is simply a continuation of the policy of Aëtius, Rikimer, and Orestes, and that policy was to be carried still further by Theodoric (§ 605). Probably the *name* of the boy-emperor who lost the throne in 476 has had much to do with exaggerating the importance of the date. It was very tempting to say that the history of Rome and that of the Empire came to an end, with a ruler who bore the name of the founder of the city and the founder of the Empire. The date, however, has no more significance than 378, 410, or 493. It is one of a series. The student may consult Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. iii, or Freeman's review of that book in his *Essays*, 3d Series, or Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Preface, and bk. iii, ch. v.

Huns. On the death of Attila, these East Goths (Ostrogoths) recovered their independence. Soon afterward they forced their way into the provinces of the Eastern Empire south of the Danube. There they dwelt for thirty years, sometimes as allies of the Empire, sometimes as enemies.

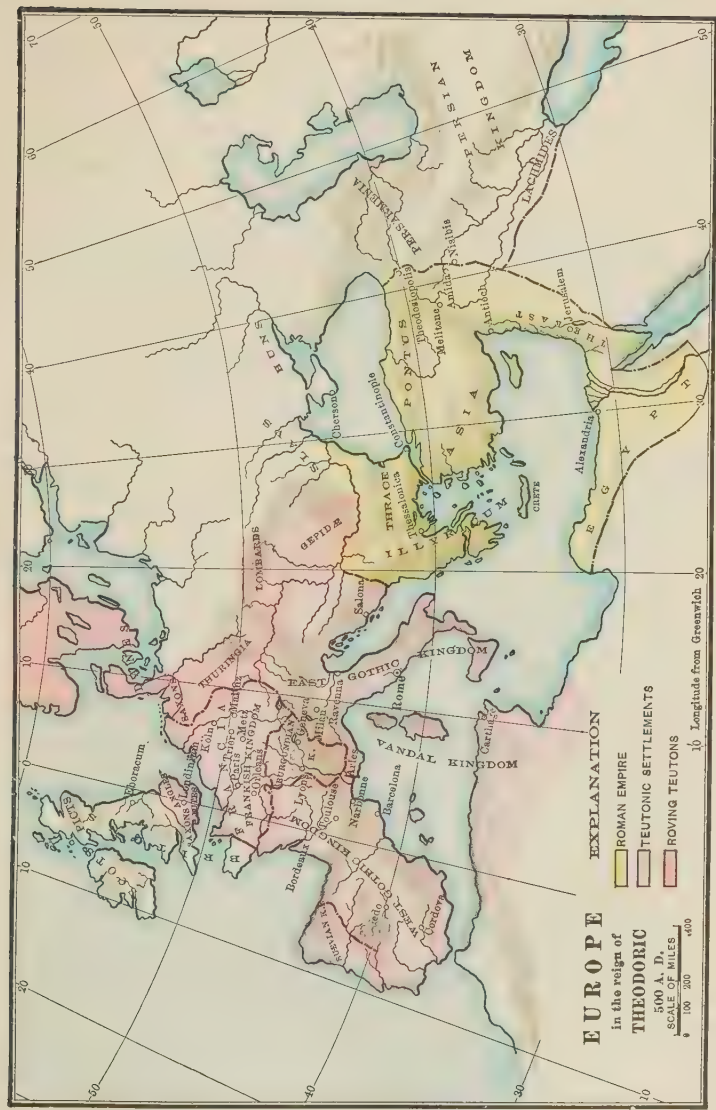
Their young king, *Theodoric*,¹ was brought up at the imperial court as a hostage. He had felt the charm of Roman civilization and adopted its culture; but, with it all, he remained a typical Teutonic hero — of gigantic stature and romantic temper, a matchless warrior, impetuous in strife and wise in counsel — the kingliest figure of all the centuries of the invasions.

606. The Conquest of Italy. — In 489, Theodoric asked leave from Zeno to reconquer Italy for the Empire. Both Theodoric and Odovaker had been growing too powerful to please the Emperor, who would have been glad to destroy either barbarian by the other. Accordingly, with magnificent ceremonial he appointed Theodoric “patrician,” and gave the desired commission.

Odovaker made a gallant resistance for four years. Theodoric beat him at Verona in a great battle, and then besieged him in the fortress of Ravenna. Odovaker finally surrendered on terms, but soon after was murdered at a banquet, on some suspicion, by Theodoric’s own hand, — the one sad blot on the great Goth’s fame.

607. “Theodoric the Civilizer,” 493–526 A.D. — Then began a Gothic kingdom in Italy, like the Teutonic states in Spain and Burgundy, and one that deserved a better fate than was to befall it. The Ostrogoths had come in *as a nation*, with women and children. They took a third of the lands of Italy, but all the rights of the Roman population were respected scrupulously. Goth and Roman lived in harmony side by side, *each under his own law*. Cities were rebuilt and new ones

¹ This Theodoric must not be confused with Theodoric the West Goth, § 599. Students will enjoy and profit by Hodgkin’s *Theodoric the Goth*.



EUROPE

in the reign of

THEODORIC

500 A. D.

SCALE OF MILES

0 100 200 400

EXPLANATION

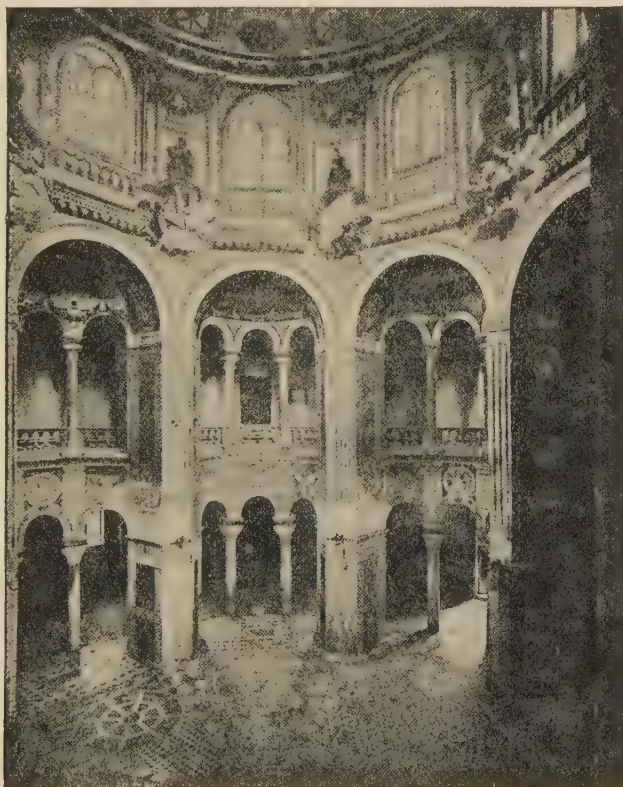
ROMAN EMPIRE

TEUTONIC SETTLEMENTS

ROVING TEUTONS

10 Longitude from Greenwich 20

founded, with a new period of architectural splendor. The land was subdivided into small estates. Agriculture revived, and Italy once more raised her own food. Theodoric's long reign was peaceful, prosperous, and happy, and the peninsula began to recover her former greatness.



CHURCH OF SAN VITALE AT RAVENNA (time of Theodoric the Great).

608. The "Empire" of Theodoric. — The power of Theodoric extended, indeed, far beyond Italy. He organized an alliance reaching over all the Teutonic states of the West. His wife

was a Frankish princess; the Burgundian and Visigothic kings were his sons-in-law; his sister was married to the king of the Vandals. All these peoples recognized a certain preëminence in "Theodoric the Great." It seemed as though he were about to reunite the West into a great Teutonic empire, and, by three centuries, anticipate Charles the Great (§§ 671-674).

609. Weak Points in the Gothic State. — After all, however, the Goths were strangers ruling a Roman population vastly larger than themselves. More serious still, they were Arians.



SEFULCHER OF THEODORIC THE GREAT AT RAVENNA.

Theodoric had given perfect freedom to the orthodox Christians; but the more zealous of these found it unbearable to be ruled by heretics. Theodoric's last years were darkened by plots among the Romans to bring in the orthodox Eastern power; and the night after his death, so it was told, a holy hermit saw his soul flung down the crater of Stromboli.

A strong successor perhaps could yet have maintained the state. But Theodoric left only a daughter; the Goths at once fell into factions among themselves; and soon the kingdom was attacked and destroyed by the Empire (§ 612).

C. REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

610. The "Greek" or Byzantine Empire. — The Latin parts of the empire had now crumbled away and fallen to the German invaders. There was left the empire east of the Adriatic. This part had always been essentially Greek in culture (§§ 400, 516); and though it called itself Roman for the next ten centuries, we commonly speak of it as the *Greek Empire* or the *Byzantine Empire*. Separated from the West, it rapidly grew more and more Oriental in character. It preserved Greek learning, and warded off Persian and Arabian conquest, but for several centuries it did not otherwise greatly influence Western Europe.

611. Slav Invasions in the East. — When Theodoric led his Goths into Italy, he left the line of the Danube open to the Slavs (§ 598). That people had been filtering into the East, as the Teutons had into the West, as slaves, coloni, and mercenaries. Now, in 493, in a period of weak rulers, came their first real invasion. Then, for a generation, successive hordes poured in, penetrating as far as Greece. Even the neighborhood of Constantinople was saved only by a Long Wall which protected the narrow tongue of land, seventy-eight miles across, on which the capital stood.

612. Justinian the Great: Restoration of the Empire. — Happily, before it was too late, another strong emperor arose at Constantinople. *Justinian* (527–565 A.D.) renewed the old frontier of the Danube, saved Europe from a threatened Persian conquest, and then turned to restore the imperial power in the West.

He reconquered Africa, the Mediterranean islands, and part of Spain; and of course he caught eagerly at the conditions in Italy, after the death of Theodoric, to regain that land and the ancient Roman capital. His generals, *Belisarius* and *Narses*, were victorious there also, but only after a dreadful twenty years' war that destroyed at once the Gothic race and the rising greatness of the peninsula. Rome itself was sacked

once more (by the Gothic king, Totila, 546 A.D.), and left for eleven days absolutely uninhabited.¹

613. The Justinian Code. — Justinian is best remembered for his work in bringing about the codification of the Roman law. In the course of centuries that law had become an intolerable maze. Julius Caesar had planned to codify it; but the need had grown vastly more pressing since his time. A beginning of the work had been made by *Theodosius II*, emperor of the East, and the *Theodosian Code* was published in 438.² Now, a century later, under Justinian, the great task was completed. A commission of able lawyers put the whole body of the law into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly.³

This benefited not only the empire: it made easier the preservation of Roman law and its adoption by the nations of Europe in after times (cf. § 557). The reconquest of Italy by Justinian established the Code in that land. Thence, in later centuries, it spread over the West, and became the foundation of all modern legal study in continental Europe, and the basis of nearly all codes of law now in existence.

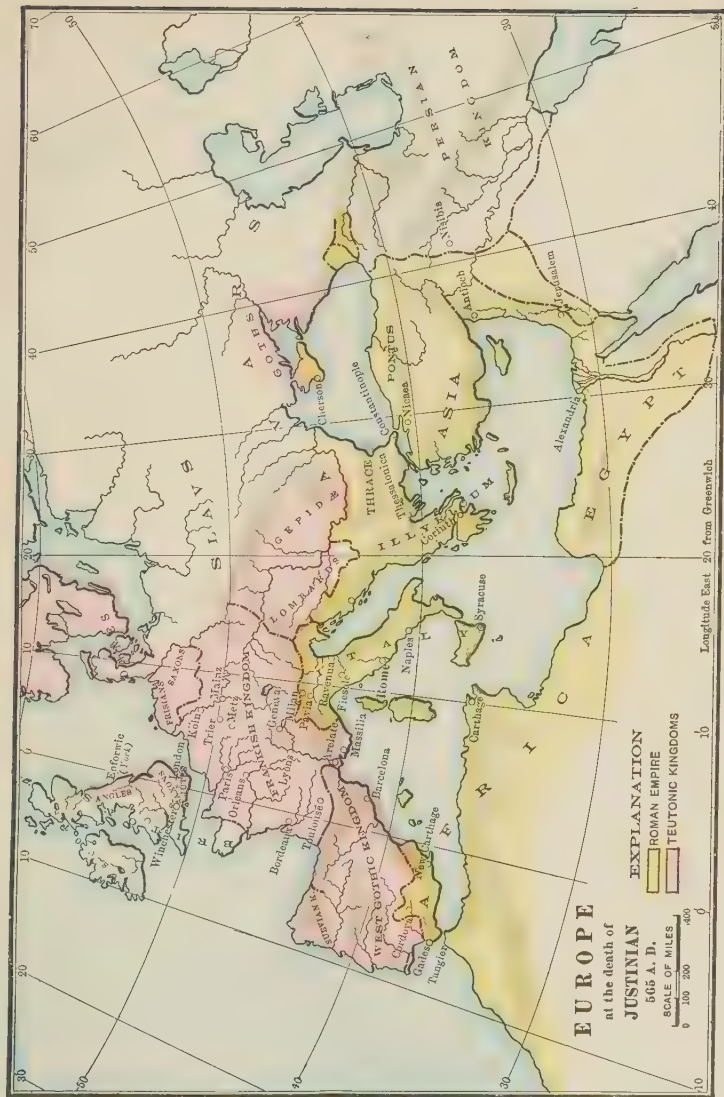
Says Ihne (*Early Rome*, 2), "Every one of us is benefited directly or indirectly by this legacy of the Roman people — a legacy as valuable as the literary and artistic models which we owe to the great writers and sculptors of Greece." And Woodrow Wilson declares (*The State*, 158) that Roman Law "has furnished Europe with many, *if not most*, of her principles of private right."⁴

¹ Read the story of this struggle in Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*. On Justinian's work in general, see Oman's *Dark Ages*, chs. v, vi.

² Extracts are given in Robinson's *Readings*, ch. ii. Theodosius II was a grandson of Theodosius the Great.

³ The work comprised the *Code*, or laws proper, the *Digest*, based upon the multitudinous "opinions" of the great lawyers of the past, and the *Institutes*, a kind of text-book upon the principles of Roman law.

⁴ Cf. § 535. English and American law is always regarded, properly, as having a very distinct origin; but Roman law profoundly affected legal development even in England, and so in the United States, while the law of Louisiana came very directly from it through the French code. Wilson's *The State*, 142-161, gives an excellent account of the growth of Roman Law and a full bibliography for advanced students. A good treatment of Justinian's work is given in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, bk. iv, ch. iii.



D. THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY.

614. Invited by Narses.—Among the mercenaries with whom *Narses*, Justinian's general, had conquered the Goths were bands of *Lombards*. These were a new German people who had crossed the Danube into the Eastern Empire when the East Goths moved on into Italy. Narses became governor of Italy, with the title of exarch and with his capital at Ravenna. After the death of Justinian, it is said, he found that enemies at the imperial court were plotting his ruin, and in revenge he invited the Lombards to seize Italy for themselves.

615. Final Break-up of Italian Unity.—In 568, these new invaders entered the land, and soon occupied the greater part of it. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley (which ever since has kept the name Lombardy), while Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered over other parts of the peninsula. The Empire retained (1) the Exarchate of Ravenna on the Adriatic, (2) Rome, with a little surrounding territory on the west coast, and (3) the extreme south. This last was to remain Greek for centuries.

Thus the middle land, for which Roman and Teuton had struggled through two centuries, was at last divided between them and shattered into fragments in the process. *Italy was not again united until 1870.* Probably, too, no other land suffered as much in the two centuries of invasions as this beautiful peninsula, which had so long been mistress of the Mediterranean world.

"Taking one's stand at Rome, and looking toward the north, what does one see for nearly one hundred years? Wave after wave rising out of the north, the land of night, and wonder, and the terrible unknown; visible only as the light of Roman civilization strikes their crests, and they dash against the Alps, and roll over through the mountain passes, into the fertile plains below. Then at last . . . you discover that the waves are living men, women, and children, horses, dogs, and cattle, all rushing headlong into that great whirlpool of Italy: and yet the gulf is

never full. The earth drinks up the blood; the bones decay into the fruitful soil; the very names and memories of whole tribes are washed away. And the result of an immigration which may be counted by hundreds of thousands is — that all the land is waste.”

— KINGSLEY, *Roman and Teuton*, 58.

IV. THE FRANKS.

616. Preëminence among the Teutonic Conquerors. — The early conquests of the Franks in North Gaul have been referred to (§ 596). Their real advance began a little before the year 500, — almost at the time of the rise of the East Goths. This was some eighty years later than the making of the Vandal, Burgundian, and Visigothic kingdoms, and as much earlier than the Lombard kingdom.

To the Franks fell the work of consolidating the Teutonic states into a mighty empire. Their final success was due, in the main, to two causes.

a. They did not *migrate* to distant lands, but only *expanded* from their original home. Their state, therefore, kept a large unmixed Teutonic element, while the other conquering nations lost themselves in the Roman populations among whom they settled.

b. When they adopted Christianity, it was the *orthodox* form instead of Arianism. This gained them support in their wars with the other Teutons (§§ 618, 619, etc.).

617. Clovis; Early Conquests. — Until nearly 500, the Franks were pagans. Nor were they a nation: they were split into petty divisions, without a common king. The founder of their greatness was *Clovis* (Clodowig, Louis). In 481, at the age of fifteen, he became king of a petty tribe near the mouth of the Rhine. In 486, he attacked the Roman possessions in North Gaul, and, after a victory at *Soissons*, added them to his kingdom. Ten years later he conquered the Alemanni, who had invaded Gaul, in a great battle near *Strasburg*, and made tributary their territory beyond the Rhine.

618. The Conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity.¹—The real importance of the battle of Strasburg lies in this—that it was the *occasion for the conversion of Clovis*. His wife, *Clotilda*, was a Burgundian princess, but, unlike most of her nation, she was a devout Catholic. In a crisis in the battle, Clovis had vowed to serve the God of Clotilda if He would grant victory. In consequence, the king and three thousand of his warriors were baptized immediately afterward.

Clovis was influenced, no doubt, by keen political insight. In the coming struggles with the Arian Goths and Burgundians, it was to be of immense advantage to have the subject Roman populations on his side, as an orthodox sovereign, against their own hated heretic rulers. The conversion was a chief agency, therefore, in building up the great Frankish state.

Another result, not so easily foreseen, was equally important. *The rising Frankish kingdom came into intimate union with the rising bishops of Rome*. Thus this conversion was to prove a factor in building up the temporal power of the papacy (§§ 662 ff.).

619. Later Conquests of Clovis and his Sons; the Frankish Empire of the Seventh Century.—His conversion furnished Clovis with a pretext for new advances. Declaring it intolerable that those “Arian dogs” should possess the fairest provinces of Gaul, he attacked both Burgundians and Visigoths, driving the latter for the most part beyond the Pyrenees. Then, by a horrible series of bloody treacheries during the remainder of his thirty years’ reign, he got rid of the kings of the other tribes of the Franks, and consolidated that whole people under his sole rule. “Thus,” says the pious chronicler, Gregory of Tours, “did God daily deliver the enemies of Clovis into his hand, because he walked before His face with an

¹ Advanced students will enjoy looking up Gregory of Tours’ delightfully naïve account, ii, 30. Compare with the conversion of Constantine. Some extracts from Gregory are given in Robinson’s *Readings*, I, 51–55.

upright heart." The sons of Clovis completed the subjugation of Burgundy, and added Bavaria and Thuringia, as tributaries, to the Frankish state, — the last two on the German side of the Rhine, well beyond the borders of the old Roman world.

620. The Empire of the Franks under the Later Merovingians. — In fifty years, mainly through the cool intellect and ferocious energy of one brutal savage, a little Teutonic tribe had grown into the great Frankish state. That state included nearly the whole of modern France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany almost to the Elbe (except for the lands of the heathen Saxons toward the mouth of that river).

Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries its preëminence was even more marked. Gothic Spain was weakened by quarrels between Arian and Catholic; Italy was torn to shreds; Britain was in chaos (§ 621); non-Frankish Germany was filled with savage, unorganized tribes. *The only real rivals of the Frankish state were the Greek Empire and a new Mohammedan power just rising in Arabia (§§ 651 ff.), soon to contest Europe with both Greek and Frank.*

The family of Clovis is known, from one of his ancestors, as *Merovingian*. It kept the throne for over two centuries after Clovis' death. In the first half of the period the rulers were commonly men of ruthless energy. In the second half they became mere phantom kings, and all real authority was exercised by great nobles, who finally replaced the Merovingians with a new royal line (§ 663).

The two hundred years make a dismal story of greed, family hate, treachery, vice, brutality, and murder.¹ Few chapters in history are so unattractive. The empire was divided among the four sons of Clovis, according to Frankish custom. The fragments were reunited under one of these sons, by methods similar to those of Clovis himself. Then it was again divided;

¹ See Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, ch. vi.





THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS

ESTABLISHED ON
ROMAN SOIL

Close of Fifth Century
(Britain in Sixth Century)

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400

to a small southern strip (Septimania),

and so on for long periods. Some sense of unity, however, was preserved; but the Franks themselves spread very little south of the Loire. North and South Gaul remained distinct from each other in blood and character (§§ 647, 649).

FOR FURTHER READING on the Franks through the time of Clovis, see especially Oman's *Dark Ages*, ch. iv, and Sergeant's *Franks*.

V. GROWTH OF THE TEUTONIC STATES IN BRITAIN.¹

621. Causes of the Slowness of the Teutonic Conquest.—Great provinces, like Gaul or Spain, fell to the Vandals or Franks after one or two battles with the Roman armies. The natives themselves made almost no resistance in the field. But, as we have seen, in Britain, where there were no Roman armies, the Teutonic invaders in 150 years of incessant warfare conquered only half the island (§ 597).

Causes for this delay are to be found both in the nature of the invasion and in the condition of the island.

a. The Saxons at home were living in petty tribes, *under no common government*, and therefore they could make no great organized attack. *Coming by sea*, too, they necessarily came only in small bands. Moreover, they were still *pagans*, and, unlike the Franks, they were *untouched by Roman civilization*; therefore they spread ruthless destruction and provoked a more desperate resistance.

b. Britain was less completely Romanized than were the continental provinces: there was *more of forest and marsh*, and a *less extensive network of Roman roads*. Hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands. The Britons, too, had not so completely laid aside military habits as had the Gauls.

622. Result: England preëminently a Teutonic State.—Because the conquest was so slow, it was thorough. Elsewhere

¹ Review § 597.

the invaders were soon absorbed by the larger native populations. *England alone, of all the Roman provinces seized by the Teutons, became strictly a Teutonic state.* In the eastern half of the island, in particular, Roman political and legal institutions, the Roman language, Christianity, even Roman names for the most part, vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven out, or enslaved.

623. Conversion to Christianity. — About the year 600, Christianity began to win its way among these heathen conquerors. In the north of England, the early missionaries came mainly from the old (Celtic) Christian church still surviving in western Britain and in Ireland,¹ long cut off from close connection with the rest of Christendom. The south, on the other hand, was converted by missionaries sent out directly by the pope of Rome;² and the rulers of the north were soon brought to accept this better organized form of Christianity. The victory of the Roman Church dates from the famous *Council of Whitby* in Northumbria, in 664 A.D.³

624. Three political results followed the conversion to Christianity:—

a. Warfare with the native Britons became milder and more like ordinary wars between rival states.

b. The ecclesiastical union of the island helped to create the later political union. The different states had a common Church Council before they had one king and one political Assembly.

c. The adoption of the same form of Christianity and the same church government as that on the Continent brought the island back into the general current of European politics.

¹ Special report: stories of the Celtic monks in northern England; see Green's *Short History of the English People*, and, especially, a translation of *a Life of St. Columban*, in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, II, No. 7.

² Special reports: anecdote of Pope Gregory and the English prisoners; story of the mission of Augustine to the king of Kent; Queen Bertha's work in aiding the missionary (cf. Clotilda in Gaul).

³ Special report: story of this Council.

FOR FURTHER READING ON THE CHAPTER. — The sources are not available except *Gregory of Tours* for the Franks, the first real history of the Middle Ages. If the whole work is not in the school library, the student at least will have the extracts in Robinson's *Readings*, I, ch. iii. That volume of *Readings*, 97-105, contains also Bede's account of the conversion of Britain.

Modern authorities: Hodgkin's *Theodoric*; Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*; Sheppard's *Fall of Rome*; Bradley's *Goths*; Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 48-54 and 95-209; Green's *English People*, opening chapters; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, chs. ii and iii; Freeman's *Historical Geography*, 87-110; Sergeant's *Franks*; Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages*; Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*; Church's *Early Britain*; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, chs. vi-vii; Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*. Church's *Count of the Saxon Shore* and Dahl's *Felicitas* (novels). Each member of the class should have access to the exceedingly valuable articles by Lavissee reprinted in Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, chs. iv, v, and vi ("Influence of the Migrations," "The Germans in the Empire," and "Faith and Morals of the Franks").

EXERCISE. — (1) Trace each barbarian people from the crossing of the barriers to the last mention in this period. (2) Trace the history of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, through the period, noting for each land what peoples left important elements in race or institutions. (In both exercises, the device of *catchwords* may be used with advantage; and students may be encouraged to prepare tables, showing, in separate columns, the peoples, events, leaders, dates, etc.) (3) List battles, with leaders and dates, for rapid "fact-drills." (4) The field is a good one for exercises calling for historical imagination (see page 196).

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE OF WESTERN EUROPE, 400-800.

(*The Dark Ages.*)

625. Plan of Treatment. — We have traced the movements of peoples and the growth of new states during the two centuries of invasions. During the next two centuries (600-800) the political story has to do with four great movements: (1) the continued *growth of the Frankish state*, until it included most of civilized Western Europe; (2) the *rise of the Mohammedans* in Asia and Africa, and their repulse from Europe by the Greek Empire on the East and by the Franks on the West; (3) the *growth of the papacy into a temporal power*,¹ partly because of its alliance with the Franks; and (4) the *rise of the Empire of Charlemagne*, out of this same alliance of the papacy and the Franks.

These political movements will be treated in the next chapter. But first, in order to understand them, we interrupt the story to survey briefly the condition into which the invasions plunged Western Europe for the whole four centuries, — (1) the chaos and misery; (2) the survival of some of the Roman civilization; and (3) the new institutions which were growing up. Such a survey is the subject of this chapter.

I. DESTRUCTION WITH THE GERMS OF PROGRESS.

A. THE DARK SIDE.

626. The Loss to Civilization. — After all allowances are made (§§ 628-632), the invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries remain the most terrible catastrophe that ever befell so great a civilized society. It took long to restore order. The seventh and eighth centuries, after the invasions themselves had ceased, are a dreary period of confusion, lawlessness, and ignorance, —

¹ The term "temporal" is used in contrast with "spiritual." The temporal power of the pope means his power as a prince, like kings and other potentates of this world, in contrast with his power in religious matters — matters not "temporal" but eternal.

the lowest point ever reached by European civilization. The whole four hundred years, from 400 to 800, are properly called the *Dark Ages*.¹

During these long centuries there was no tranquil leisure and therefore no study. There was little security and therefore little labor. While the Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life, the Latins were losing all but the rudiments,—and, for a time, they were losing faster than the Germans gained. Classical literature suddenly became extinct. The old Roman schools disappeared, or were represented only by new monastic schools with meager instruction.

627. New Causes for Decline in Culture.—Roman civilization, as we have noticed (§ 581), had been falling away for two centuries before the barbarian conquests began. The disorder and destruction connected with the two hundred years of invasions added tremendously to the decay; and then, when at last the invaders had settled down, two causes of decline were added to the old ones.

a. The new ruling classes were grossly ignorant, and did not care for the old literature and science, even so far as it had survived. Few of the greatest nobles could read, or write their names.

b. More and more the language of every-day speech grew away from the literary language in which the remains of the old knowledge was preserved. This process had begun long before; but, until the coming of the Teutons, a man who spoke the usual language in Gaul or Spain could also, without much difficulty, understand the Latin if he heard it. The coming of the barbarians hastened the change in the spoken language. The old inflections were disregarded; words were corrupted in form; new Teutonic words were added.² The language of

¹ Read Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, ch. ii (close) and ch. iii.

² The many different dialects which were springing up in the different parts of Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Italy, were finally to grow into French, Spanish, and Italian. These languages—mingled of Teutonic and Roman elements—are called *Romance languages*.

learning was left so far from the spoken language that it became "dead." It could be acquired only by special study, and was known only to the clergy. Even by them it was known very imperfectly.

At the same time the old Roman civilization, in many obscure ways, did survive. The causes of the survival we will now notice.

B. PRESERVATION OF SOME ROMAN CIVILIZATION.

628. The Barbarian Conquests accomplished by Small Numbers.

—We must not suppose that the invasions greatly changed the character of the population in Western Europe (outside of Britain). The forces which occupied the western Roman world in the fifth century were far smaller than had been driven back in rout many times before. The highest estimate for the whole Burgundian nation is eighty thousand. The Vandals counted no more. The Visigoths, when they conquered Spain, hardly exceeded thirty thousand warriors. Clovis commanded less than six thousand men when he annexed Roman Gaul.

629. The conquests (outside Britain) were attended with little warfare. — When the Roman legions had been beaten in the field, the struggle was over. Those legions and their commanders were mainly German. The provincials were largely so; and in any case they had come to be indifferent to a change of masters.

630. Reverence of the Conquerors for Roman Civilization. — The barbarians felt a wholesome reverence for the Roman Empire and for all connected with it. This important fact has been illustrated repeatedly in the preceding pages. Even Clovis was delighted when the emperor at Constantinople sent him an appointment as consul and as a lieutenant of the Empire.

The Germans were awed by the marvelous devices, the massive structures, the stately pomp, of the civilization they had conquered. The mood is best shown by the exclamation

of a Gothic king when first he visited Constantinople: "Without doubt the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood."

631. The Influence of the Old Populations.—The Germans already within the Empire in the year 400 had been largely Romanized. The new invaders settled among populations ten, twenty, or fifty times their own numbers. At first the Teutons were the rulers and the bulk of the large landlords. *They formed the government and the aristocratic forces in rural society.* But the towns, so far as they survived at all, with their varied industries, remained Roman. For a long time, too, the old population furnished most of the clergy. From them, also, came the secretaries of the conquering lords and many confidential officers. Gradually these various forces secured the adoption of many customs of the old civilization by the conquerors. The influence of the church in this respect was so important that it demands a separate section (§ 632).

632. The Church and the Barbarians.—The barbarian converts to Christianity understood its teachings of love, purity, and gentleness very imperfectly, and adopted them still less fully. The church suffered a lowering of religious spirit,—although the superstition of the ignorant age gave it, perhaps, increased power. Christianity raised the new nations, but in the effort it was dragged down part way to their level. More emphasis was placed on ceremonies and forms. The clergy, especially the higher clergy, became often merely ambitious and worldly lords, preachers of a coarse and superficial religion, men who allied themselves to the schemes of wicked rulers, lived vicious lives, and were unable to understand the services they mumbled.

All this was to be expected. The church as a whole could not be a great deal better than the people of the time,—who had to furnish the clergy and the flocks. The danger is that the student will overrate the degradation. In spite of it, *the church was the salt that kept the world sweet for later times.* In the wildest disorder of the sixth and seventh centuries

there were found priests, monks, and bishops inspired with zeal for righteousness and love for men, and there were found also in all ranks of society some willing followers of such teachers. The church, as a whole, protected the weak and stood for peace, industry, and right living.

Moreover the church was an institution with its own government. The rulers of the land did not greatly interfere with it. Therefore it kept up the old forms and habits and the principles of the Roman law more than any other part of Western society.

The church of those centuries is sometimes accused of putting *all* stress upon forms and of neglecting totally the duty of man to man. The charge is bitterly unjust. Many sermons of the seventh century place peculiar emphasis upon good works. "It is not enough," says the good Bishop St. Eloy, to his flock, in a fervent exhortation, — "It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. . . ."

"Come, therefore, frequently to church; humbly seek the patronage of the saints; keep the Lord's day in reverence of the resurrection without any servile work; celebrate the festivals of the saints with devout feeling; love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest. . . ." ¹

633. Summary. — Thus the destruction of civilization was less than at first we should expect. The conquerors were few;

¹ This sermon is printed at some length by Maitland (*Dark Ages*, 109 ff.). Curiously enough, garbled extracts from just this sermon led many historians (Robertson, Hallam, etc.) to deny any religion of good works to this age. Advanced students may like to compare Robertson's treatment (*History of Charles V*, note xi, of the "Proofs and Illustrations," with Maitland's refutation. Guizot (*Civilization in France*, II, 322, 327) gives some good illustrations of the homely and practical preaching of the day and its intensely religious character.

there was little actual fighting; the old population and the church kept on living in many respects in the old ways. Most important of all, the barbarian conquerors did not *wish* to destroy the civilization: they wished to possess it. Much, of course, they did destroy. Part they ruined in the wanton mood of children, — as in the story of the warrior who dashed his battle-ax at the beautiful mosaic floor to see whether the swan swimming there were alive. More was lost because they did not understand its use. But much survived; and much more which at the time *seemed* ruined was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutons themselves, — so that

“almost, if not quite, every achievement of the Greeks and the Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts is now a part of our civilization — either among the tools of our daily life or in the forgotten foundation-stones which have disappeared from sight because we have built some more complete structure upon them.”¹

This complete recovery, however, was a matter of some centuries later, beyond the period of this volume. At present we will observe some of the important ideas and institutions which survived at the time or which arose then from the mingling of Roman and Teutonic elements (§§ 634–645).

II. SOME SURVIVALS AND NEW INSTITUTIONS.

A. THE IDEA OF ONE UNIVERSAL EMPIRE.

634. The idea of the Roman Empire as the one legitimate universal government survived. We can see now that the Empire had passed away in the West before the year 500. But men of that day did not see it. They could not believe that the dominion of the “Eternal City” was dead; and therefore it did not altogether die. For three hundred years it lived on, *in the minds of men*, until Charlemagne made it again external fact (§ 673). To understand the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, it is needful to remember this truth.

¹ Read Adams' *Civilization*, 9, 10. Cf. § 253 of this book.

"Teutonic kings ruled in the West, but nowhere (except in England) had they become national sovereigns in the eyes of the people of the land. They were simply the chiefs of their own peoples (Goths, Franks, etc.) reigning in the midst of a Roman population *who looked to the Caesar of New Rome* [Constantinople] as their lawful sovereign." — Condensed from FREEMAN.

B. MONASTICISM.

The survival of the church has been already noticed, with some reference to its service in preserving and upbuilding society. The growth of the papacy will be noted in §§ 658 ff. At present we will study only one institution, which grew up in the church during the Dark Ages.

635. Eastern Hermits and Western Monks. — The eastern Church gave rise early to a class of hermits, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body and by secluding himself from the world.¹ The persecutions in the third century augmented the numbers of these fugitives from society, until the Egyptian and Syrian deserts swarmed with tens of thousands of them. In some cases they came to unite into small bodies with common rules of life. In the latter part of the fourth century this idea of religious communities was transplanted to the West, and the long anarchy following the invasions gave peculiar inducements to such a life.

Thus arose *monasticism*, one of the most powerful medieval² institutions. The fundamental causes were: (1) the longing for a life of quiet religious devotion, and (2) the conditions which made quiet living impossible except through some such withdrawal from society.

European monasticism differed widely from its model in

¹ Kingsley's *Hermits* gives an account of the most extravagant cases of this movement.

² The in-pouring of the Teutons between 376 and 476 is sometimes said to close Ancient History. Those who speak in this way divide history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, and give the name Medieval to the period from about 400 to about 1500 A.D. This book follows a different classification (§ 3), but it sometimes uses the expressions *Medieval* and *Middle Age* as descriptive terms for the period to which they are commonly applied.

the East. The monks in the West did believe that holy living lay, in part, in crushing natural instincts and affections; but they never paralleled the excesses of the hermits of the East. Even within their quiet walls, they wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness, but in active and incessant work. Their very motto was, "To work is to pray": the old proverb of Satan and idle hands strikes a keynote in western monasticism.

636. Growth and Organization. — The growth of many a rich monastery was a romantic story of humble beginnings, lofty enthusiasm, and noble service. A body of enthusiasts, uniting for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential marsh or in a wilderness. Gradually their numbers grew; the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden through their toil; the first plain structures gave way to massive and stately towers; lords or kings gave the monastery lands; fugitive slaves and serfs tilled them; perhaps villages or towns sprang up upon them, under the rule of the *abbot*.

Such was the growth of hundreds of early communities. Similar institutions for women afforded a much-needed refuge for great numbers of that sex in that troublous age. At first each monastery or nunnery was a rule unto itself. Finally the various communities became united in great brotherhoods. In particular, *St. Benedict*, in the sixth century, published and preached rules for a monastic life that were widely adopted. Two hundred years later, nearly all monks in Western Europe were Benedictines. The order at its height is said to have counted over forty thousand monasteries.

637. The Three Vows and the Monastic Life. — Each Benedictine took the three vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*. (1) He renounced all wealth for himself (though the monastery might become wealthy). (2) He renounced marriage. (3) He renounced his own will in all things, in favor of that of his superior in the monastery, — the abbot or prior. To all this was added the *obligation of work*.

During the Middle Ages, the monks were the most skillful and industrious tillers of the soil. They taught neighboring youth in their schools. They lovingly copied and illustrated manuscripts, and so preserved whatever learning was saved at the time in the West. They themselves produced whatever new literature Europe had for some centuries. In particular, they cared for the poor and suffering. For many centuries of disorder and violence the monasteries were to Western Europe the only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools.

638. Relation to the other Clergy. — A monastery, at first, was a religious association of *laymen*; but gradually the monks became the most zealous of missionaries and the most devoted of preachers. As they took up the duties of the clergy, there arose a long struggle between them and the bishops. The bishops desired to exercise authority over them as over other lower clergy; the monks insisted upon independence under their own abbots, and finally won it by grants from the popes. Because subject to *rule*, the monks became known as *regular* clergy, while the ordinary clergy were styled secular (“belonging to the world”).¹

C. DEVELOPMENT OF TEUTONIC LAW.

639. Codes. — When the barbarians entered the Empire, their law was simply unwritten custom. Much of it continued so, especially in England; but, under the influence of Roman ideas, the tribes on the continent soon began to put parts of their law in the form of written codes (cf. § 594). These codes throw interesting sidelights upon the times. Three points may be noted here (§§ 637-639).

¹ Good brief treatments of early monasticism will be found in Curteis and in Adams, a longer account in Guizot, II, or in the Church histories. Henderson's *Documents* gives the “Rule of St. Benedict.” Read Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, ch. ix, on the “Economic Services of the Monasteries.” Robinson's *Readings*, I, 86-93, gives source extracts illustrating some phases of the monastic attitude of mind.

640. Law was "personal." That is, a man carried his law with him wherever he went. It was felt that a Roman, a Goth, a Burgundian, even though all were members of the Frankish state, should each be judged by his own law. The barbarian codes tried to recognize this principle, and of course such a practice led to much confusion.¹

641. Compurgation ; Ordeal ; Judicial Combat. — When a man, in a trial, wished to prove himself innocent, or to prove another man guilty of some charge, he did not try to bring *evidence* of the fact. *Proof consisted in an appeal to God* to show the right. There were three kinds of such appeal.

a. The accused and accuser swore solemnly to their statements. Each was backed by his *compurgators*, — not witnesses, but persons who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth.² To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance, and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips. This form of trial was *compurgation*.

b. Sometimes the trial was by *ordeal*. The accused tried to clear himself by being thrown bound into water: if he floated he was innocent. Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance, or walked over burning plowshares; and if his flesh was uninjured, when examined some days later, he was declared innocent.³ All these

¹ In modern civilized countries, law is *territorial*, not *personal*. That is, all persons in a given country come under the same law, — the law of the land.

² The idea, and probably the practice itself, survives in the boy's incantation, "Cross my heart and hope to die," if his word is questioned. The value of a man as a compurgator depended upon his rank; a noble was worth several freemen. The number called for depended also upon the crime. According to one code, three compurgators of a given rank could free a man accused of murdering a serf; it took seven, if he were accused of killing a freeman; and eleven, if a noble.

³ For a brief description of these trials, see Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, 80-87. Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials; and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond, to sink or float.

ordeals were under the charge of the clergy, and were preceded by sacred exercises.

c. Among the nobles, the favorite method came to be the *trial by combat*, — a judicial duel which was prefaced by religious ceremonies and in which God was expected to “show the right.”

642. Offences were atoned for by money payments. Warriors were too valuable to be lightly sacrificed, and punishment by imprisonment was not in keeping with Teutonic custom. Practically all crimes had a money penalty, varying from a small amount for cutting off the joint of the little finger to the *wer-geld* (man-money), or payment for a man’s life. It is significant that the fine for cutting off a man’s right arm was about the same as for killing him outright. The *wer-geld* varied with the rank of the victim.¹

D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

643. The conquest, together with the influence of Roman ideas, modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. Particular attention should be given to the changes in the three leading political elements, — the king, the council of chiefs, and the Assembly (§§ 586-587).

a. *The kings became more absolute.* (1) They secured large shares of confiscated land, so that they could reward their immediate followers and build up a strong personal following. (2) The Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence. (3) Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decision. From these

¹ Probably the best brief treatment of early Teutonic law is in Emerton’s *Introduction*, 73-91; Henderson’s *Documents* (314-319) gives a number of formulas for ordeals, and a more complete source treatment is found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 4. Extracts from an early Frankish code are given in Henderson’s *Documents*, 176-189.

three factors it came to pass that the former war chiefs became real sovereigns.¹

b. The old nobility of blood gave way to a new territorial nobility of office or service. The higher ranks came in part from the old class of "companions" of the king (§ 587), who were now rewarded with grants of land and intrusted with important powers as rulers² (counts and dukes).

c. The popular assemblies decreased in importance as the power of the kings and nobles grew. Such assemblies, however, did not at this time altogether disappear. In England they survived as occasional *Folk-moots*, and under the Frankish kings as *Mayfield* assemblies. They tended, however, to become gatherings of nobles and officials.

III. SUMMARY OF ROMAN AND TEUTONIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

The great streams of influence that were to make the modern world had now come in contact (§ 3). Let us sum up the elements of each.

644. The Roman Empire contributed:—

Indirectly:

a. The Greek intellectual and artistic conceptions, together with all the material gains that had been preserved from the older world.

b. Christianity and the organization of the church.

Directly:

c. A universal language—a common medium of learning and intercourse for centuries.

¹ Clovis was a fairly despotic king toward the end of his reign; a special report upon the vase of Soissons incident (told in all histories of France) will show how limited his power was at first, and also how, in war, a chief could increase his power.

² Thus were brought together (1) the Teutonic personal relation of "companion" and lord, (2) the holding of land, and (3) the exercise of political power. After the fall of Charlemagne's Empire, in a renewal of the Dark Ages through the ninth and tenth centuries, these elements were to furnish material out of which was built the *feudal system*. This peculiar organization of society, however, hardly began to appear within the period of this volume.

- d. Roman law.
- e. Municipal institutions.
- f. The idea and machinery of centralized administration.
- g. The conception of *one*, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the civilized world owed obedience.

Note that these elements were not all of them unmixed with evil. The fifth and sixth, also, were, to some degree, inharmonious.

645. The Teutons contributed:—

- a. Themselves (cf. theme sentence on page 485).
- b. A new sense of the value of the *individual*, as opposed to that of the state.¹
- c. *Loyalty to a lord*, as contrasted with loyalty to the state.
- d. A new chance for democracy—in the popular assemblies of different grades, some of which, in England, were to develop *representative* features.

It is not correct to say that the Teutons gave us representative government. *What they did was to give another chance to develop it.* The earlier peoples had lost their chances. Some peculiar features in later English history were to develop these Teutonic assemblies in that island into representative bodies.

- e. A system of *growing* law. The codification of the Roman law (§ 613) preserved it, but also fixed and crystallized it. Teutonic law was crude and unsystematic, but it contained possibility of growth. The importance of this has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," which is of course the basis of our American legal system.

646. Influence of the Mixture upon Later European Civilization.—

This *mingling* of forces has been felt ever since in European history. As has been before noted (§§ 65-67), Oriental civilization quickly became uniform; society crystallized; development ceased. European civilization began in Greece with diversity and freedom, and these factors were aided by geographical conditions over all Western Europe, with its small

¹ Christianity had much to do, no doubt, in strengthening this idea.

territorial divisions and indented coast. But after some centuries, the Roman Empire had begun to take on Oriental uniformity : society there, too, had crystallized (§ 576), and progress apparently had ceased. The mingling of the new elements contributed by the Teutons with the older Roman elements resulted in an interaction of opposing principles which has prevented later European society from becoming stagnant.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL EUROPE, 600-768.¹

I. THE FRANKS TO CHARLES MARTEL.

647. Rivalry of Neustria and Austrasia.—In the seventh century the dividing lines between the Frankish sub-kingdoms (§ 620) shifted from time to time; but on the whole there stand out four great sections. These were *Burgundy* and *Aquitaine* in the south, and the East Franks and West Franks (*Austrasia* and *Neustria*) in the north.

The first two were mainly Roman in blood; the last two were largely German. This was true especially of Austrasia. That province comprised the old home and the chief vigor of the Frankish race, little affected by Roman influences. Neustria, however, contained the early conquests of Clovis and his imperial capital, and it held a certain prestige over all the rest of the Frankish state.

The family contests among the rulers of the sub-kingdoms finally resolved themselves into a struggle for supremacy between these two states, Neustria and Austrasia. It was plain that south Gaul must fall to the victor.

648. The "Do-nothing Kings" and the Mayors of the Palace.—From 628 to 638, the whole Frankish empire was reunited under the vigorous *Dagobert*; but after that monarch's death the Merovingian line declined rapidly. The kings earned the name of "*Do-nothings*," and real power was exercised in each sub-kingdom by a *mayor of the palace*. Originally this officer was a chief domestic, the head of the royal household (cf. § 555); but, one by one, he had withdrawn all the powers

¹ Review § 625.



of government from the indolent kings. At first the office of mayor was filled by the king's appointment. As it grew more important, the nobles sometimes claimed the right to elect the holder; and in Austrasia the position finally became hereditary.

Soon after Dagobert's time, the rule of the mayors became so undisguised that men began to date events by the mayor's name rather than by the king's. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived retired on some obscure estate, in indolence and swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.¹

649. Pippin of Heristal: Testry. — The fifty years after Dagobert were filled with anarchy and civil war, and the Frankish state seemed about to fall to pieces. Indeed, Bavaria and Thuringia (purely German) and Aquitaine (the most purely Roman province) did break away into states practically independent under their native dukes.

But finally, at the battle of *Testry* (687 A.D.), the Austrasians under their mayor, *Pippin of Heristal*, established their supremacy over the West Franks. Austrasia at this moment had no separate king, and Pippin might now have set up an independent kingdom there; but instead he chose wisely to rule both kingdoms as mayor of Neustria, appointing a trusted friend mayor of Austrasia.

In appearance, Austrasia remained the less dignified state, but really it had given to the realm of the Franks a new line of rulers and a new infusion of German blood. *Testry stands for a second Teutonic conquest* of the more Romanized part of the Frankish state, and for a reunion of the two halves of the empire. Some of the great border dukedoms still remained almost independent; but *Pippin is rightly regarded as the second founder of the Frankish state.*

¹ Read Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, 13.

650. Charles Martel, Sole Mayor. — Pippin's son, Charles, went farther. He concentrated in his single person the offices of mayor of Austrasia, of Neustria, and of Burgundy, and brought back to subjection the great dukedoms of Bavaria and Thuringia. He established firm order, too, among the unruly chiefs of the German frontier, and partially restored Frankish authority over Aquitaine, which was now making a gallant fight for independence.

The crushing blows Charles dealt his rivals in these struggles won him the title of the Hammer (*Martel*), which he was soon to justify in a more critical conflict that saved Europe from Mohammedanism (§ 655). *Except for Pippin and Martel, there would have been no Christian power able to withstand the Arab onslaught.* The victory of Testry and the pounding by the Hammer of the Franks came none too soon.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, 8-45; Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, 82-88; Oman's *Dark Ages*, ch. xv; Sergeant's *Franks*; Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, ch. vi.

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL.

651. Arabia before Mohammed. — About a century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising materials, created a mighty power in Arabia, — a region until then beyond the pale of history. This new power was destined, within the time spanned by one human life, to win Persia from the Zoroastrians, Asia and Africa from the Greek Empire, Spain from the Goths, and to contest the rest of Western Europe with the Franks. Checked in this attempt, it still maintained itself in Spain for eight hundred years, and in the fourteenth century it won Eastern Europe, where, though corrupt and decayed, it still maintains a foothold.

The best of the Arabian tribes were related to the Jews and the old Assyrians, but on the whole the peninsula contained a mongrel population. A few tribes near the Red Sea had

acquired some mechanical arts and some wealth, but the greater number were poor and ignorant. All were weak, disunited, and idolatrous. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of *Mohammed*.

652. Mohammed, to the Hegira. — This remarkable man never learned to read, but his speech was ready and forceful, and his manner pleasing and commanding. His youth had been modest, serious, and truthful, so that he had earned the surname of *the Faithful*. At twenty-five he became wealthy by marriage with his employer, the good widow Kadijah, and until forty he continued to live the life of an influential, respected merchant.

Mohammed had always been subject, however, to occasional periods of religious ecstasy (which may have been connected with a tendency to epilepsy); and now, upon a time as he watched and prayed in the desert, a wondrous vision revealed to him (he said) a higher religion, and enjoined upon him the mission of preaching it to his people. At first, Mohammed seems to have feared that this vision was a subtle temptation of the devil; but Kadijah's confidence convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his arduous task.

The better features of the new religion were drawn from Jewish and Christian sources, with which the merchant had become somewhat acquainted in his travels. Indeed Mohammed recognized Abraham, Moses, and Christ as true prophets, but claimed that he was to supersede them. His precepts were embodied in the sacred book of the *Koran*. The two essential elements of his religious teaching were belief in one God (*Allah*) and submission to His will (*Islam*) as revealed by His final prophet, Mohammed.

Mohammed's closest intimates accepted him at once; but beyond them, in the first twelve years of his preaching, he made few converts. Especially did his townsfolk of Mecca, the chief city of Arabia, jeer his pretensions. The priests of the

old religion roused the people there against him, and finally he barely escaped with life from his home.

653. From the Hegira to the Death of Mohammed, 622-632 A.D.—This flight of the prophet from Mecca is the *Hegira*, the point from which the Mohammedan world reckons time, as Christendom does from the birth of Christ. The first year of the Mohammedan era corresponds to our year 622 A.D.

From this event dates a change in Mohammed's policy. Like his enemies, he also took up the sword. He now made converts rapidly, and soon recaptured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors were almost irresistible. They were inspired by religious devotion. They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death which he could neither delay or hasten; and this high fatalism conquered fear. Indeed they rejoiced in death in battle, as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise.

"The sword," said Mohammed, "is the key of heaven. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer; whoso falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk."

At the same time, they were comparatively mild in victory. Pagans, it is true, had to choose between the new teaching and death; but Jews and Christians were allowed to keep their faith on payment of tribute.

Moreover, Mohammed preached a political system as well as a religion. He became *not only prophet, but king*—supreme in all matters civil, military, and religious. This character descended to the Caliphs who followed him¹ and has marked the chief rulers of the Mohammedan world ever since.

Mohammed has been vehemently accused of resorting to fraud and deceit to advance his cause. To ascertain the exact truth of the matter is impossible. In the stress of conflict, and under the temptation of power, his character no doubt

¹ Caliph means "successor" of the Prophet.

suffered some decline. On the whole, however, he seems to have been earnest and sincere to the end, however much self-deluded. Certainly his rules restrained vice and set up higher standards of right than had ever been presented to the people for whom he made them. The religious enthusiasm he inspired created a mighty nation of devoted courage and strict morals, and, finally, of noble culture.

Just before his death, he sent ambassadors to demand the submission of the two great powers in the East,—the Greek Empire and Persia. According to the story, the Persian ruler answered the messenger, naturally enough: “Who are you to attack an empire? You, of all peoples the poorest, most disunited, most ignorant!” “What you say,” replied the Arabian, “*was* true. But now we are a new people. God has raised up among us a man, His prophet; and his religion has enlightened our minds, extinguished our hatreds, and made us a society of brothers.”

654. The Ninety Years of Conquest.—Mohammed lived only ten years after the Hegira, and his own sway nowhere reached beyond Arabia. Eighty years after his death, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic.¹ All the Asiatic empire of Alexander had fallen to them; all North Africa, beside; and already, drawing together the sweeping horns of its mighty crescent-form, this new power was trying to enter Europe from both east and west—by the narrow straits of the Hellespont and of Gibraltar.

655. The Attack upon Europe in the East: the Repulse at Constantinople.—The preservation of Europe from the first attacks lay with the Greek Empire. After Justinian that state had fallen again to decay, and, for a time, had seemed in danger of annihilation by Slavs from Europe and Persians from Asia. Now the Arabs conquered Persia, taking its ancient place as the champion of the Orient. They overran Syria and Asia Minor, also; and, in 672, they besieged

¹ Most of the wide realm so bounded—including the great historic peoples of the Iran plateau and of the Nile and Euphrates valleys—still belongs to the Mohammedan faith.

Constantinople itself. Their victory at this time (before the battle of Testry) would have left all Europe open to their triumphal march; but the heroism and generalship of *Constantine IV* saved the western world.

Happily, in the twenty years' anarchy that followed this emperor's death, the Saracens made no determined effort. In 717, they returned to the attack; but a new and vigorous ruler had just come to the throne at Constantinople. This was *Leo the Isaurian*, who was to begin another glorious line of Greek emperors. Leo had only five months after his accession in which to restore order and to prepare for the terrific onset of the Mohammedans; but once more the Asiatics were beaten back—after a twelve months' siege. *The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away on the walls of the city of Constantine.*¹

656. The Attack in the West: Repulse at Tours.—In 711, however, the Arabs entered Spain, and were soon masters of the kingdom, except for a few remote mountain fastnesses. Then, crossing the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now, indeed, it “seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full.” But the danger united the Frankish state. The duke of Aquitaine (who had long led a revolt against Frankish supremacy) fled to Charles

¹ Arabian chroniclers themselves say that only thirty thousand survived of a host of one hundred and eighty thousand well-appointed warriors who began the siege. The Greek authorities made the Saracen numbers some three hundred thousand, and “by the time the story reached Western Europe these numbers had grown beyond all recognition.”

A chief weapon of the defense was the newly invented Greek fire, which was afterward to be used with terrible effect by the Mohammedans themselves. Six centuries later, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: “Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday.” — JOINVILLE, *St. Louis*.

Martel for aid; and in 732, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" met the Arab host with his close array of mailed Austrasian infantry. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in October, the gallant turbaned horsemen of the Saracens dashed recklessly, but in vain, against that stern wall of iron. That night the surviving Arabs stole in silent flight from their camp. They kept some hold upon a fringe of Aquitaine for a while, but Gaul was saved.

The battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion. Only a few years afterward, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph of the East built, for his capital, Bagdad on the Tigris, for centuries the richest and greatest city in the world; the Caliphate of the West established its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two states were bitter rivals, and, with this disunion, the critical danger to Western civilization for the time passed away. *The repulses at Constantinople and at Tours rank with Marathon, Salamis, Metaurus, and Chalons, in the long struggle between Asia and Europe.*

657. Later Mohammedanism. — The Arabs quickly adopted Greek culture, and, to some degree, extended it. In Persia and Spain they developed a noble literature. They had the most advanced schools and universities of the Middle Ages. From India they brought the "Arabic" notation. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name. The heavens retain evidence of their studies in a thick sprinkling of Arabic names (like *Aldebaran*), while numerous astronomical terms (azimuth, zenith, nadir, etc.) bear similar testimony. In material civilization, — in methods of agriculture, in growth of new varieties of fruits and flowers, in manufactures of cloths (muslins from Mosul, damasks from Damascus), in metal work — they infinitely surpassed Europe for four hundred years.

On the whole, however, the Arabs showed little real *creative* power; and at a later time political leadership fell to races

like the Turks,¹ much less capable of culture. Moreover, Mohammedanism sanctioned polygamy and slavery;² it left no room for the rise of woman; and, worst of all, since the Prophet's teachings were final, it *crystallized into a changeless system*, opposed to all improvement. Thus it was doomed to decay. Even at its best, Mohammedan civilization was marked by an Oriental character. It was despotic, uniform, stagnant,—sure to be outrun finally by the western world, which was ruder at first, but more progressive.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 210-227; Stillé, 98-126; Gilman's *Saracens*; Bury, II, bk. v, ch. vi; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*; Carlyle's essay on "Mohammed" (*Heroes and Hero-Worship*). Advanced students may consult Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Bury's *Gibbon*, ch. I, li, and Muir's *Mohammed*. A compact but somewhat more extended treatment of Saracenic culture than the one in this chapter may be found in Munro's *Medieval History*, ch. x.

Muir's *The Coran* gives translations of important passages; some translations are given in Guernsey Jones' *Source Extracts*, and longer ones in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 114-120.

III. THE PAPACY.

A. RISE TO ECCLESIASTICAL HEADSHIP.

658. Claim: the Doctrine of the "Petrine Supremacy." — In the fourth and fifth centuries the Christian church was divided between the great patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome (§ 565). In spite of the growing tendency to monarchic organization, no one of these bishops had been able to establish authority over all Christendom.

¹ The term *Saracen*, sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, belongs strictly to the Arabs; in North Africa the Arabs mingled with the Berbers of *Mauritania*, and the race became known as Moors (afterward dominant in Spain); the Turks, who now for almost a thousand years have been the leading Mohammedan people, came in later from Northern Asia and are allied to the Tartars.

² These evils were among those which Mohammed found existing about him and which he accepted.

Claim to such supremacy, however, had been put forward by one of them,—the bishop of Rome.¹ The claim took this form: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his Church to Peter; Peter (according to tradition) had founded the first church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, as the successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.

659. Advantages that helped to make this Claim Good.—To support her claim over all the West against her eastern rivals, Rome possessed many advantages in past history and in the events of the first Christian centuries.

a. From early times the bishops of Rome were readily allowed a certain precedence in dignity, even by the other patriarchs, because men so inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital.

b. The Latin half of the Roman Empire, which would most naturally turn to Rome for leadership, contained no other church founded by an apostle. Nor did it contain any other great city, to become a possible rival of Rome. The other patriarchs were all east of the Adriatic.

c. As compared with the East, the West had few heresies and hair-splitting disputes over doctrines. This made it easier for a headship, once established, to maintain itself.

d. A long line of remarkable popes, by their moderation and

¹ *The Roman Catholic view of the early church differs widely from that given here. It holds that the church was monarchic in organization from the first and that the headship of Rome, in actual practice, dates from Peter. Scholarly presentations of the Catholic argument, together with collections of some of the historical evidence upon which it is based, are given in Kenrick's *Primacy of the Apostolic See* and in Rivington's *Roman Primacy*. Robinson's *Readings*, I, 62-73, has a good statement with valuable extracts from several of the early Fathers; see especially the argument of Pope Leo (pages 69-72). As early as the time of Valentinian III (§ 603), an imperial decree had commanded that all the church should recognize the headship of the pope. In the East, however, the church did not acquiesce in this decree. The bishop of Constantinople claimed an equal place. The name pope ("papa") was originally only a term of affectionate respect ("father") applied to any bishop. It did not become the official name of the bishops of Rome until 1085. Special reports: Leo the Great and Gregory the Great.*

statesmanship, helped to confirm the place of Rome as the representative of all the West. Not unfrequently, indeed, they were accepted as arbitrators in the disputes between eastern patriarchs.

e. The barbarian invasions strengthened the position of the pope in at least two ways. (1) The decline of the imperial power in the West lessened the danger of interference from Constantinople. (2) The churches in Spain and Gaul, in their dread of the Arian conquerors, turned to Rome for closer guidance.

f. Rome's own missionary labors did much to extend her power. It was through her that the Arian conquerors in the West were finally brought to the orthodox doctrine, and that the pagans in Teutonic England and in Germany were converted to Christianity. To these last, in particular, Rome was a mother church, to be obeyed implicitly.¹

660. Rome freed from Eastern Rivals; the "Great Schism." — The claims of Rome, however, carried no weight *in the East*; and, until about 700, even to many men of the West, her bishop appeared only one (though the most loved and respected one) among five great patriarchs. But the eighth century eliminated the other four patriarchs, so far as western Christendom was concerned. In quick succession, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens; and, soon afterward, remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

The schism, like the political division of the old Roman Empire into East and West, followed the lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures (§ 400). The split had begun to show very early, and it was assisted by the political differences of East and West. The occasion for actual sepa-

¹ Special report: the life and labors of Boniface, "Apostle to the Germans." See especially Robinson's *Readings*, I, 105-111, and Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, ch. viii.

ration, however, was a religious dispute over the use of images in worship.

This is known as the "iconoclast" (image-breaking) question. A small but influential minority in the Greek Empire desired to abolish the use of images, which, they felt, the ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. The great reforming emperor, *Leo the Isaurian* (717-741), who had just saved what was left of Christendom from the Saracens (§ 634), put himself at the head of the movement, with all his despotic power. Finally, he ordered all images removed from the churches.¹ The West in general believed in their use as valuable aids to worship, and in Italy the pope forbade obedience to the order of the emperor. The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

Thus, *Rome was left the unquestioned head of the Latin church*. Other conditions, which we are now to trace, raised this headship into a real monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual, such as was never attained in the Greek church, where the patriarchs of Constantinople were overshadowed by the imperial will.

B. THE POPE BECOMES A TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN.

661. The Pope as a Civil Officer of the Greek Emperor. —

While the Roman bishops were winning this spiritual rule over all the West, they were also becoming independent temporal princes (monarchs) over a small state in Italy.

This process begins with the Lombard invasion. In the break-up of Italy (§ 615), the imperial governor (exarch) at Ravenna was cut off from Rome and the strip of territory about it that still belonged to the Empire. From the time of

¹ In the East, Leo and his successors were temporarily successful. The monks and populace resisted them, however, and, before the year 800, the image-worshippers regained the throne in the person of the Empress Irene. Meantime the question had divided Christendom. The churches of Greece and Russia and the other Slav states of Southeastern Europe still belong to the Greek communion.

Constantine, all bishops had held considerable civil authority; and this new condition left the bishop of Rome the chief lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district. At the same time, in the position that the pope claimed as spiritual head of Christendom, he called, in some matters, for submission from the emperor himself. Thus his double character of the emperor's servant and the emperor's superior could be easily confused; while the difficulty of communication left him in any case very nearly an independent sovereign.

662. This Virtual Independence avowed by Open Rebellion. — The emperor did not permit this growing independence without a struggle. One pope was dragged from the altar to a dungeon; another died a lonely exile in the Crimea; and only a threatened revolt in Italy saved another from a like fate in 701.

More and more the Roman population of Italy rallied round its great bishop against the disliked Greek power. When the Emperor Leo the Isaurian tried to extend imperial taxation in Italy, Pope Gregory sanctioned resistance. The imperial decree regarding images, we have noted, met with like reception. Plans were discussed in Italy for setting up a new emperor in Rome, or for a confederation of the peninsula under the pope. As the image-worship dispute grew violent, church councils, summoned by Pope Gregory II (730 A.D.) and by Gregory III (731 A.D.), excommunicated Leo. The emperor sent a fleet and army to seize Gregory and subdue Italy; but a storm wrecked the expedition and the rebellion succeeded.

After these events, Roman bishops assumed office without sanction¹ from the emperors; and, fifty years later, Pope Hadrian made the political separation more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the emperors.²

¹ Until this rebellion, the popes, though elected by the clergy and people of Rome, had waited like other bishops for confirmation by the emperor before entering on their office.

² Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 under the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," and so began our method of counting time. He should have made the year 785. Owing to this error in calculation, we are now obliged to say that Christ was born 4 B.C.

663. Recognition and Protection of the New Sovereignty by the Franks. — The next step was to secure recognition for the new papal sovereignty. First, however, it was seriously threatened by the Lombards. The Lombard king Aistulf had seized the Exarchate of Ravenna in the north, and was bent upon seizing Rome also. Had he succeeded, Italy would have become one state with a united nation. This result was prevented by the opposition of the popes.

A Lombard master close at hand would have been more dangerous to the papal claims than a distant Greek master; and the popes appealed to the Franks for aid. It happened that the great Frankish mayors had need of papal sanction for their plans just then, and so the bargain was struck. The story demands that we return to Frankish history.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Church's *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, 106–110; Carr's *Church and Empire*, ch. xxiv; Adams' *Civilization*, ch. vi; Emerton's *Introduction*; Curteis; and the Church Histories, Catholic and Protestant.

IV. THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY.

(THE FRANKS FROM CHARLES THE HAMMER TO CHARLES THE GREAT.)

664. The Carolingian¹ Dynasty secures the Frankish Throne, with Papal Sanction. — Shortly after the victory at Tours, the "Do-nothing" king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, but neither did he place any Merovingian upon the throne. He continued to rule, in his capacity as Mayor of the Palace, without any king at all. Before his death he secured the consent of the nobles to the division of his office between his sons Karlmann and *Pippin*.

These young mayors, less secure at first than their victorious father, thought it best to crown a Merovingian prince, in whose name they might govern, like their predecessors. Their first work was to continue the task of their father and

¹ For this name, see § 667, note. The student will do well to prepare for this topic and for the following chapter by rereading the earlier history of the Franks (§§ 616–620, 647–650, 656).

grandfather in restoring authority over Aquitaine and Bavaria. Then Karlmann entered a monastery,—as various other princes, English and Lombard, did in this age,—and Pippin began to think of taking to himself the name and dignity, as well as the labors, of royalty.

He felt, however, the need of powerful sanction in establishing a new royal line; and, in 750, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask whether this was “a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks.” The pope, who needed Pippin’s aid against Lombard encroachment, replied, “It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so.” Thereupon the last Merovingian was sent to a monastery and Pippin assumed the crown.

665. Pippin saves and enlarges the Temporal Power of the Popes.—This brings us back to the story in Italy (§ 663). Shortly before the death of Martel, the Lombard king besieged the pope in Rome. The pope sent pressing requests to the Frankish ruler for aid. Since the time of Clovis, the Franks had kept up friendly relations with the Roman bishops, but Martel would not heed this summons. The Lombards were his allies against the Arabs, and his hands were full at home.

Pippin, however, now owed more to the papacy; and when the Lombards attacked Rome again (soon after Pippin’s coronation), Pope Stephen set out in person to beg aid at the Frankish court. During this visit he himself reconsecrated Pippin king of the Franks. In return, Pippin made two great expeditions into Italy, winning easy victories over the Lombards. The second time (756 A.D.) he reduced Lombardy to a tributary kingdom, and gave to the pope the territory that the Lombards had recently seized from the Exarchate of Ravenna.

666. Different Views as to the Nature of the Authority Conferred.—This grant is the famous “*Donation of Pippin.*” The exact terms are not known. Some writers hold that the pope was intended to be wholly sovereign in this territory. Others

maintain that Pippin stepped into the place of the Greek emperor, and simply intrusted to his lieutenant, the pope, somewhat larger domains.

Possibly, at the moment, neither party had any complete theory. In practice, the Frankish kings and the popes long remained close friends, and it was not until much later (when disputes arose) that a theory of the situation was needed. When that time did come, however, the absence of clear definition of powers in this grant was to entangle well-meaning men on opposite sides in hopeless quarrels for centuries. The greatest of the popes held to the first of the two views; the greatest of the successors of Pippin, to the second. The papal view at length prevailed. From this Donation there arose the principality of the Papal States — a strip of territory reaching across the peninsula from Rome to Ravenna.¹

In the attempts to sustain the papal claims there grew up a story of a supposed "Donation of Constantine the Great" in the fourth century. According to this imaginary "Donation," the emperor conferred upon the popes much wider domains than those granted by Pippin, and more extensive privileges. The legend was supported in the ninth century by a curious pious forgery, put forth under the name of the great Bishop Isidore of Spain. These forged *Decretals of Isidore* were accepted as authentic for many centuries.²

FOR FURTHER READING. — Emerton's *Introduction*, 151-177; Hodgkin's *Charles*, 44-82; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, 34-41; Sergeant's *Franks*. Henderson's *Documents* contains the "Donation of Constantine." Robinson's *Readings*, I, 120-124, gives an excellent source treatment of the relations of Pippin and the papacy.

¹ This papal kingdom lasted until 1870, when its last fragment was united to the new-born kingdom of Italy. Many Catholics hope still for its restoration. They believe that the pope cannot be free to direct kingdoms and rulers in *moral* questions as they think he should, unless he is independent *politically*. This he can be, only if he is himself a sovereign prince. No doubt some feeling of this kind began very early to inspire the popes in their march toward kingship.

² It is desirable to try to understand that such "forgeries" were not blamable in the same degree that they would be now, with our clearer view of the value of historical truth. They are very common in uncritical ages, and usually they portray what their authors believed to be true.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

(Revival of the Western Empire.)

I. CHARACTER OF CHARLEMAGNE.

667. Charlemagne the Man.—In 768, Pippin, king of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Charles. This prince was to be known in history as *Charlemagne*, or Charles the Great (Carolus Magnus).¹ Charlemagne was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and his work has profoundly influenced all later history. His friend and secretary, Einhard, has left us a description of him. He was a full-blooded German,—an Austrasian Frank—with yellow hair, fair skin, and large, keen, blue eyes. He was unusually tall, but exceedingly well proportioned and graceful, so that his great height did not at first strike the observer. His appearance was always manly and stately, and his countenance commonly was open and cheerful; but, when roused to anger, his eyes blazed with a fire that few men cared to stand before.

Riding, hunting, and swimming were his favorite sports, but he delighted in all forms of bodily exercise, and through most of his life he was amazingly strong and active. He was simple in his habits, and very temperate in eating and drinking. He was fond of the old German customs, and usually wore the ordinary dress of a Frankish noble, with sword at his side and a blue cloak flung over his shoulders; but

¹ The French form "Charlemagne" has won general acceptance, but the student must not think of Charles (Karl) as a Frenchman, or even as "king of France." He was "king of the Franks," and in history he was the predecessor of the later German kings and emperors rather than of French kings.

he was also fond of the Roman culture and strove to preserve and extend it among his people.

He spoke readily in Latin as well as in his native German; and he understood Greek when it was spoken. Late in life he tried to learn to write, but was never able to do much more than sign his name. For the times, however, he was an educated man. At table, he liked to have some one read to him, and he was particularly fond of history. He called scholarly men about him from distant countries and delighted in their conversation, and he did much to encourage learning. After his death, legend magnified and mystified his fame, until he became the great hero of medieval story.¹

II. EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF TEUTONIC CIVILIZATION.

668. The Frankish state at the accession of Charlemagne had the same area as in the time of Dagobert, a hundred and thirty years before; but meantime it had been more thoroughly united and had been absorbing more of the old Roman culture, so that it was now ready to advance once more.

The realm was still in peril, it is true, from Mohammedanism on one side, and, yet more, from barbarism on the other. The first Carolingians,² — the two Pippins, and the Hammerer, — had checked the invasion; now, under this vigorous new prince, the Franks were to take the aggressive and roll back the peril on both sides.

669. Character of the Wars of Charlemagne. — The long reign of nearly fifty years (768–814) was filled with ceaseless border warfare, oftentimes two or more great campaigns to a season. At first glimpse, therefore, Charlemagne stands forth a warlike figure, like Caesar and Alexander. Like them he did extend by arms the area of civilized life. But though he planned

¹ Baldwin's *Story of Roland* gives some legends of Charlemagne's court.

² This name (from Karl, Carolus) is applied to all the rulers of this house from the time of its founder, Pippin of Heristal.

campaigns, he rarely took charge of them, and his warfare has little that is striking or romantic. It consisted generally in sending overwhelming forces into the enemy's country to besiege its strongholds and waste its fields. He warred not for glory or gain, but to crush threatening perils before they should become too strong. Charles was not chiefly fighter or general, but rather *statesman and ruler*.

670. The Winning of the Saxon Lands, to the Elbe, 772-804. — The most desperate struggle was with the heathen Saxons, who were threatening to treat the Frankish state as small bands of them had treated Britain some three centuries before. That fierce people still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea. Protected by their marshes and trackless forests, these heathen kept up the contest against all the power of Charlemagne for more than thirty years. Repeatedly they were vanquished and baptized, — for Charles forced the tribes that submitted to accept Christianity on pain of death; but nine times, after such submission, they rebelled, massacring Frankish garrisons and returning to heathen freedom, — to their human sacrifices and the eating of the bodies of witches.

Charles's methods grew stern and cruel. The greatest blot on his fame is the "massacre at Verden," where forty-five hundred leaders of rebellion, who had been given up at his demand, were put to death. The embers of revolt still flamed out, however, and finally Charles transported whole Saxon tribes into Gaul, giving their homes to Frankish pioneers and garrisons.

Whatever we think of the methods, these wars were the most fruitful of the century. The long pounding of thirty years laid the foundation for modern Germany. Charlemagne completed the work that Caesar and Augustus began eight centuries before (§§ 454, 507). Now that the Roman world had been Germanized, it was time for Germany to be Romanized. Civilization and Christianity were extended from the Rhine to the Elbe. The district was planted with churches

and monasteries. Around them, towns grew up, so that these foundations proved more powerful than any army in holding the Saxon lands to the Frankish state. The Saxon campaigns began the armed colonization of the heathen East by the civilized Germans, — a movement which was to become one of the great marks of the later Middle Ages.

671. Spain, Italy, Bavaria. — Other foes engaged the attention the great king would have preferred to give to reconstruction. The *Saracens* were easily thrust back to the Ebro, so that a strip of north Spain became a Frankish mark.¹ The last vassal *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the pope; and, after fruitless negotiation, Charles marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's grant to the pope, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and *crowned himself king of the Lombards*, at Pavia, with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. *Bavaria*, always uncertain in its allegiance (§ 649), rebelled. Charlemagne subdued it thoroughly, sending its duke into a monastery and incorporated it into the Frankish state.²

672. Result: the Union of the German Peoples. — Thus, by expansion and consolidation, Visigoth, Lombard, Burgund, Frank, Bavarian, Allemand, Saxon, — all the surviving Germanic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Britain, — *were united into a Christian Romano-Teutonic state*.³ This seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne. More than this he did not wish. He might easily have seized more of Spain or the provinces of the Greek Empire in south Italy. The Empire, indeed, gave him no little provocation.

¹ The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees in the pass of Roncevalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with Saracens there. The details are fable, but the Song of Roland was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.

² Note the distinction: Lombardy remained a separate kingdom from that of the Franks, though the two states had the same king; Bavaria became part of the kingdom of the Franks, with no separate government.

³ The population was largely Roman still, but *politically* the different parts of the state were essentially Teutonic. In all its divisions, in Italy and south Gaul, as in Saxon-land, *the rule, for the most part, was in Teutonic hands*.

But with rare moderation he returned freely some Adriatic provinces that had voluntarily submitted to him. For mere conquest, such realms would have been vastly more attractive than the bleak Saxon-land, but it seems plain that Charles did not choose to incorporate inharmonious elements needlessly into his German state.

It is notable also that the small Teutonic states outside his realms, in Denmark and in England, recognized some vague overlordship in the ruler of the Teutonic continent.

673. Defensive Wars against the Eastern Slavs; Dependent States.—The wars against the Saxons had been partly defensive, partly for the purpose of strengthening the Teutonic character of the state. The rolling back of the Arabs in Visigothic Spain had a like twofold character. The other military expeditions of Charlemagne so far mentioned had been intended to complete the union of the civilized Teutons in Western Europe. In the latter part of his reign he waged many wars against the heathen, non-German peoples on the east, but these wars, also, were essentially defensive in purpose.

Beyond the German territory there stretched away indefinitely the savage Slavs and Avars, who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. But the vigorous Teutonic race who now championed the cause of civilization attacked barbarism in its own strongholds. Gradually the first line of these peoples beyond the Elbe and Danube (including modern Bohemia and Moravia) were reduced to tributary kingdoms. Charles made no attempt, however, really to incorporate these conquests into his Frankish state, or to force Christianity upon them. They were intended only to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.

The most famous work of Charlemagne, if not the most useful, was the reestablishment of the Roman Empire in the West. To this we will now direct our attention

III. THE REVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

674. Reasons and Pretexts. — The state ruled by Clovis and Dagobert had been not so much a kingdom as an empire, in extent and character, comprising, as it did, many sub-states and diverse peoples.¹ Charlemagne had given new emphasis to this character of the Frankish state, and he ruled also over wide realms in north Italy which were not in the Frankish state at all. Now he was to strengthen his power by reviving the dignity and the magic name of the Roman Empire. He knew that the mere “king of the Franks” could never sway the minds of Visigoth, Lombard, Bavarian, Saxon, and especially of the Roman populations they dwelt among, as could the “Emperor of the Romans” ruling from the old world-capital.

There was already a “Roman Emperor,” of course, at Constantinople, whose authority, in theory, extended over all Christendom. Just at this time, however, Irene, the empress mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI, and seized the imperial power. To most minds, East and West, it seemed monstrous that a woman should pretend to sway the scepter of the world, and Charles decided to restore the throne to its ancient capital in the West.

675. Election and Coronation. — On Christmas day, 800 A.D., Charlemagne was at Rome, whither he had been called once more to protect the pope from turbulent Italian enemies. During the Christmas service, while the king knelt in prayer, Pope Leo III placed upon his head a gold crown and saluted him as *Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans*. The act was ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude; and once more Rome had chosen an Imperator.²

¹ This is the proper use of the term *empire* as distinguished from kingdom (cf. § 32 c, note), and this meaning it always had until Napoleon III obscured it in the popular mind by assuming the style of emperor while merely ruler of France (1852–1870). The first Napoleon was really an emperor.

² Besides the account in Emerton and Adams, see especially Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 50–58 and 67–71, and Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, 496 ff.

676. Theory of the Empire.—This act of Leo and Charles was not a partition of imperial duties, as between Diocletian and his colleague, nor a friendly division of territory, as between Arcadius and Honorius (§ 564). It was *in theory* the restoration of the seat of the one universal Empire to Rome. *In fact*, however, it created *two rival empires*, each calling itself *the Roman Empire*, and looking on the other as a usurpation.

Charlemagne is said commonly to have “revived” the Western Empire. This is essentially correct if we look at results. But in theory, and in the speech of men of his day, Charlemagne was the successor, not of Romulus Augustulus (§ 604), but of Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople. In course of time, to be sure, men had to recognize that there were two Empires, as there had come to be two branches of the Christian Church; but to the men of the West, *their Empire*, like their Church, remained the only legitimate one.

677. Western and Eastern Empires contrasted.—Neither Empire was really Roman. The Eastern grew more and more Oriental, until it ended in 1453 A.D., when the Turks captured Constantinople. The Western grew more and more Teutonic, until it ended in 1806, before which time its rulers had shrunk into little more than dukes of Austria. Both Empires continued to stand for civilization as against barbarism. The Eastern, however, was henceforth largely *passive*, and calls for little attention in European history; the *active and positive* forces were found in the Western. The Eastern Empire warded off from Europe inroads of Asiatic barbarism, and served as a *storehouse* of the old culture. The Western Empire *learned* from the Eastern some of its civilization, and *extended* Christianity and good order in Central Europe.

678. The Western Empire of Charlemagne and the Old Roman Empire contrasted.—The new Western Empire, too, while one in theory with the old Empire of Augustus and Constantine, differed from it almost as widely as from the Byzantine Empire. Two distinctions should be especially noted.

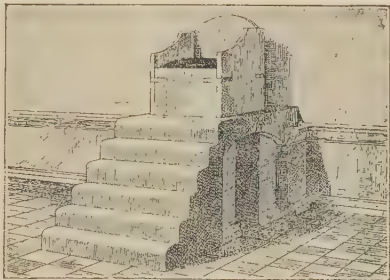
a. The new Empire was European, and even *Teutonic*, rather than Mediterranean, both in area and character. Charlemagne and his successors had to be *crowned* in Rome, but the German Rhine, not the Italian Tiber, was the real center of their state.





Aachen, not Rome, was the capital of the government. Greek and Oriental influences were almost wholly excluded; and Roman ideas, so far as they remained, were worked out by rulers of Teutonic blood.

b. The new Empire arose out of a union of the Papacy and the Frankish power. This union began in the coronation and the donation of Pippin, and was confirmed by the Christmas-day coronation of Charles. In later times the union was to be expressed in the name, The *Holy* Roman Empire. The Empire had its spiritual as well as its temporal head. The limits of authority between the two were not well defined, and in later times dissensions were to arise between them.



THRONE OF CHARLEMAGNE, at Aachen.

679. The Great Powers in 800 A.D.—Thus at the close of Ancient History the world is divided among four Great Powers—the two Christian Empires and the two rival Mohammedan Caliphates.¹

The Christian states were in some sense rivals. Each was bitterly hostile to its Mohammedan neighbor, and each in consequence was to some degree on friendly terms with the Mohammedan power bordering the other. *The only one of the four states that was to stand finally for progress was the Western Empire, with its fringes in the Teutonic states of Denmark and England.*

The revival of the Empire added to Charlemagne's dignity, but it did not directly add to his power or in any material way change the character of his government. With a brief survey of that government, we close our study.

¹ The Caliph Haroun al Raschid at Bagdad, the hero of the *Arabian Nights*, was Charlemagne's contemporary. In an exchange of courtesies, the Saracen sent to the Frankish king a white elephant and a curious water clock that struck the hours.

IV. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

680. General Poverty and Misery of the Times.—Because there was again a Roman Empire in the West, with a powerful ruler, we must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. In 800, the West was ignorant and poor. There was much barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect, and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was little heard of. Trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was a primitive kind of agriculture.

Perhaps this condition is best realized by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. There were no taxes, as we understand the word,—partly because there was no money to pay them with. Payment was made by service in person. The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks in war; the nobles paid by serving there, with their followers, and also by serving, without salary from the treasury, as officers in the administration. The treasury received some fines, and it was enriched somewhat by the “gifts” which were expected from the wealthy men of the realm; but its chief support came from the produce of the royal farms scattered through the kingdom. Charlemagne took the most minute care that these lands should be well tilled, and that each should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times.¹

681. Political Organization.—Five features of the government deserve attention,—the administration by *counts*; the watching of the counts by the *missi dominici*; the *king's own marvelous activity*; the issuing of *capitularies*; and *mayfields*.

¹ See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, III, No. 2, or *Robinson's Readings*, I, 137-139.

a. *The counts.* Under the Merovingians, large fragments of the kingdom fell under the rule of dukes who became almost independent sovereigns, and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these hereditary dukes with appointed *counts*, more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne.

Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; therefore the number of these officers was very great. On the frontiers, to watch the outside barbarians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks") and were known as *margraves*. To the counts and margraves was intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

b. *Missi dominici.* Like the old dukes, the counts tended to become identified with their localities as independent rulers, and to transmit their power to their sons. To oppose this tendency directly in those times was hardly possible. So, to keep the counts in order, Charlemagne introduced a new set of officers known as *missi dominici* ("king's messengers"). The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district each year there was sent a pair of these commissioners, to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the king's self,—overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the king.¹ The commissioners were moved from one circuit to another, year after year, so that they should not establish too intimate relations with one set of counts. Usually, too, the pair of *missi* were made up of one layman and one bishop, so that the two might be the more ready to check each other.

c. *Charlemagne's personal activity.* This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because

¹ Cf. § 63. Read Emerton's *Introduction*, 220, 221, and Adams' *Civilization*, 160-162. See also Charlemagne's instructions to the *missi*, in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 139-143.

of his own marvelous activity. Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

d. Capitularies. With the help of his chief advisers, the king drew up collections of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as capitularies.¹

e. Mayfields. To keep in closer touch with popular wishes and feelings in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen could attend and speak. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen.

To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. Law-making was in the hands of the king; and at the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him the force of public opinion.

682. Relations to the Church.—In the lifetime of Charlemagne the popes secured little of the control they were afterward to exercise in the Empire. Charles himself promulgated religious regulations. He appointed all bishops or controlled their appointment, and he heard appeals from the bishops and archbishops. He also called special church councils, at which he presided in person. The decrees of these councils he sanctioned; and, in one case at least,² he declared doctrines false that had just been approved by the Pope.

683. Schools and Education.—Attention has already been called (§ 666) to Charlemagne's interest in learning. The difficulties in building up a better education were almost beyond our belief. There seemed no place to begin. Not only

¹ Special report upon the extracts in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, VI, No. 5, and in Robinson's *Readings*, I, ch. vii.

² Special report: the Council of Frankfort, 794 A.D.

the nobles, but even many of the better clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Charlemagne did much. He secured more learned men for the clergy. He brought about the opening of schools in many of the monasteries and at the seats of some of the bishops; and he urged that these schools should not only train the clergy but that they should teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of the schools established or revived at this time, as at Tours and Orleans, acquired much fame. For teachers, learned men were brought from Italy, where the Roman culture best survived. Charlemagne also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the young nobles of the court, and the scholar *Alcuin* was induced to come from England to direct it. The emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the boys.

With great zeal, too, he strove to secure a true copying of valuable manuscripts, and especially a correction of errors that had crept into the services of the church through careless copying or mis-writing.

684. The Place of Charlemagne's Empire in History. — In the eighth century there were four great forces contending for Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Papacy. By the year 800, the Carolingians had excluded two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire.

For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be one of the most important institutions in Europe. It embodied the Roman idea of universal centralized authority, and it served partly to counteract the Teutonic over-tendency to individualism. Barbarism and anarchy were again to break in, after the death of the great Charles; but the imperial idea to which he had given new life and new meaning was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against the forces of anarchy in behalf of order, peace, and progress.

685. The Place of Charlemagne. — For his lifetime, Charlemagne restored order to Europe. It is true he was ahead of

his age, and, after his death, his great design in many respects broke to pieces. It is true, too, that he built upon the work of his father and grandfather, and that he could not have accomplished much without them. But he towers above them, and above all other men from the fifth to the fifteenth century, — easily the greatest figure of a thousand years.

He stands for five great movements. He expanded the area of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire in the West for the outward form of this state, reorganized the church and civil society, and brought about a revival of learning. Looking at this work as a whole, we may say he wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and of Teutonic society into a new civilization. In his Empire the various streams of influence that we have traced in Ancient History were at last fused in one great current, — and Modern History was begun.

FOR FURTHER READING.—Good brief treatments of Charlemagne's work are given in Emerton, *Introduction*, 180-235; Adams, *Civilization*, 154-169; and Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, 110-137. Einhard's contemporary *Life of Charlemagne* is published in Harper's Half-Hour Series (30 cents), and extracts from this work and from the Capitularies are given in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 126-146. For longer modern studies, see Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, Mombert's *Charles the Great*, Cutt's *Charlemagne*, Mullinger's *Schools of Charles the Great*, West's *Alcuin*, Sergeant's *Franks*, Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*.

EXERCISES ON PART VI.

1. Topical and "catchword" reviews: (a) *The church* (see Part V also); (b) *The Franks*; (c) *The Empire*.

2. *Dates* to be added for events subsequent to the Teutonic invasions: 378, 410, 476, 622, 732, 800.

What events connected with the invasions can the student locate, in order, between 378 and 476? What events in the history of the Empire between 476 and 732? (Similar tests for other periods.)

3. *Battles*. Add to previous lists five battles for the period 378-800.

APPENDIX.

I. TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES.

[Until about 800, dates can only be estimated in round numbers.]

GREECE.	THE EAST.
B.C.	B.C.
	5000 . . Civilization appears in Egypt and Chaldea.
	3800 . . Sargon the Elder.
	2800 . . The political center in Egypt moves up the river from Memphis to Thebes.
	2700 . . A voluminous Chaldean literature (§ 45).
2500-1300 Mycenaean civilization on the coasts and islands of the Aegean (§ 74). Schliemann's Troy destroyed, 2500.	2400 . . The political center in Chaldea moves up the river to Babylon.
	2234 . . Beginning of the recorded astronomical observations at Babylon (§ 38).
	2000 . . Chaldean rule extended over Syria.
	The Hyksos in Egypt. Abraham.
	1800 . . Beginning of Assyria.
	The Hebrews enter Egypt.
	1600 . . Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.
	1500 . . Egypt conquers Asia to the Tigris.
	Phoenician supremacy in the Aegean.

B.C.	B.C.
	1380 . . Rameses II.
	1320 . . Libyan attack upon Egypt. Hebrew Exo- dus.
	Assyria attains brief su- premacy over Chaldea.
	Hittite Empire in Syria.
1300-1000 Achæan civilization.	1280 . . The Hebrews enter Pales- tine.
1200 or 1100 The Trojan War.	1125 . . First Assyrian Empire.
	1055 . . David, king of the He- brews.
1000 . . Early Homeric poems.	1000 . . Zoroaster.
The Dorian invasion.	
Kingship at Athens lim- ited after the death of Codrus.	
1000-900 Greek colonization of the islands of the Aegean and the Asiatic coast.	975 (?) . The Hebrew state divided.
	850 (?) . Carthage founded.
800-600. Wider Greek coloniza- tion.	
776 . . First recorded Olympiad.	
(753 . . Legendary date for the founding of Rome.)	
752 . . Ten-year archons at Athens.	
	745 . . Second Assyrian Empire; Tiglath-Pileser II.
	730 . . Egypt conquered by Ethi- opia.
	722 . . Sargon II carries the Ten Tribes into Assyrian captivity.
700 . . King Pheidon at Argos.	672 . . Egypt conquered by As- syria.
682 . . Nine annual archons at Athens.	653 . . Egyptian revolt; Psam- metichus.
	640 . . Revolt of the Medes against Assyria.
650-500. The Lyric Age.	632 . . Scythian irruption.
	625 . . The Babylonian Empire.

B.C.	B.C.
624 . . Archonship of Draco.	610-595. Neco; circumnavigation of Africa.
612 . . Cylon's insurrection at Athens.	606 . . Destruction of Nineveh.
	604-561. Nebuchadnezzar.
594-593. Archonship of Solon.	586 . . The Jews pass into the Babylonian captivity.
560-527. Peisistratus at Athens.	560 . . Croesus makes Lydia a great power.
	558-529. Cyrus the Great of Persia.
	538 . . Babylonia a Persian province.
	537 . . The Jews sent back to Palestine by Cyrus.
	525 . . Egypt a Persian province.
522-448. Pindar.	522-485. Darius I of Persia.

GREECE.

ROME.

510 . . Expulsion of the Peisistratidae.	510 . . Expulsion of the Tarquins.
509 . . Constitution of Cleisthenes.	
500-494. The Ionic revolt.	494 . . First secession of the Plebs.
	493 . . First plebeian tribunes.
492-479. Attack by Persia and Carthage.	
492 . . First Persian invasion.	
490 . . Marathon.	486 . . Agrarian proposal of Spurius Cassius.
483 . . Ostracism of Aristides; adoption of Themistocles' naval policy.	
480 . . Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis, Himera.	
479 . . Plataea, Mycale.	
477 . . Confederacy of Delos.	
472 . . Themistocles ostracized.	
469 . . Revolt of Naxos.	
468 . . Eurymedon.	462 . . Proposal for written laws.

B.C.		B.C.	
461 . .	Rupture between Sparta and Athens; ostracism of Cimon.		
461-429 .	Leadership of Pericles.		
459 . .	The Athenian expedition to Egypt.		
458 . .	Long Walls at Athens.		
457 . .	Battle of Tanagra.		
454 . .	Athenian disaster in Egypt.	451-449 .	The Decemvirs; the twelve tables; second secession of the plebs; the Valerian-Horatian Laws.
446 . .	Loss of Boeotia by Athens; loss of Megaris.	445 . .	Intermarriage between the orders legalized.
445 . .	Thirty Years' Truce.	444 . .	Consular tribunes.
		443 . .	Censors.
438 . .	The Parthenon completed.		
431-404 .	Peloponnesian War.		
429 . .	Death of Pericles.		
415-413 .	The Sicilian expedition.		
411 . .	The "Four Hundred" at Athens.	409 . .	Plebeians attain the quaestorship.
406 . .	Arginusae.		
405 . .	Aegospotami.		
404 . .	Surrender of Athens; the thirty tyrants.		
404-371 .	Supremacy of Sparta.		
403 . .	Thrasybulus frees Athens.		
401 . .	March of the Ten Thousand Greeks.	400 . .	Plebeians attain the consular tribuneship.
399 . .	Execution of Socrates.		
396 . .	Agesilaus invades Asia.		
395-387 .	The Corinthian War.		
394 . .	Cnidus.		
393 . .	Athens' Long Walls rebuilt.	390 . .	Gauls sack Rome.
387 . .	Peace of Antalcidas.	387 . .	The Tribes increased to twenty-five.
383-379 .	Sparta crushes the Chalcidic Confederacy.		

B.C.	B.C.
371 . . Leuctra.	367 . . The Licinian Laws.
371-362 . Theban leadership.	366 . . Praetorship established.
371 . . Megalopolis founded.	358 . . The Tribes increased to twenty-seven.
362 . . Battle of Mantinea.	356* . . Plebeians attain the dic- tatorship.
359-336 . Philip king of Macedon.	351 . . Plebeians attain the cen- sorship.
351 . . First Philippic of Demos- thenes.	343-341 . First Samnite War.
348 . . Death of Plato.	340-338 . The Latin War.
345-337 . Timoleon the Liberator.	337 . . The plebeians attain the praetorship.
338 . . Chaeronea.	
336-323 . Rule of Alexander the Great.	332 . . The Tribes increased to twenty-nine.
334 . . The Granicus.	326-304 . Second Samnite War.
333 . . Issus.	321 . . Caudine Forks.
332 . . Siege of Tyre; Alexan- dria founded.	312 . . Appius Claudius, censor.
331 . . Arbela.	300 . . Plebeians become augurs and pontiffs.
325 . . Expedition of Nearchus.	299 . . The Tribes increased to thirty-three.
323-276 . Wars of the Succession.	298-290 . Third Samnite War.
322 . . Death of Aristotle.	287 . . Hortensian Law.
301 . . Ipsus.	280-275 . War between Rome and Pyrrhus; Rome ab- sorbs Greek Italy.
285-247 . Ptolemy Philadelphus.	266 . . Conquest of the Gauls to the Rubicon.
280 . . The Achaean League.	264-241 . First Punic War; most of Sicily becomes Roman.
278 . . The Gallic invasion.	
245 . . Aratus, general of the Achaean League.	

B.C.		B.C.	
241 . .	Agis at Sparta; failure and death.	241-238 .	The Mercenary War in Africa; Sardinia and Corsica become Roman.
235 . .	Struggle between the Achaean League and Sparta; Cleomenes' reforms at Sparta.	225-222 .	Cisalpine Gaul becomes Roman.
221 . .	Cleomenes crushed.		
220 . .	Marked decline in the Graeco-oriental kingdoms.		

THE ROMAN WORLD.

- 218-201 . . . Second Punic War ; Spain a Roman province.**
 216 . . . Cannae.
 215-205 . . . First Macedonian War.
 212 . . . Capture of Syracuse ; all Sicily becomes Roman.
 207 . . . Battle of the Metaurus.
202 . . . Zama.
 200-196 . . . Second Macedonian War.
 197 . . . Cynoscephalae ; Macedonia a dependent ally.
 192-189 . . . War with Syria.
 189 . . . Magnesia ; Syria a dependent ally.
 171-167 . . . Third Macedonian War.
 168 . . . Pydna.
 149-146 . . . Third Punic War.
146 . . . Destruction of Carthage and Corinth ; Macedonia and Africa become Roman provinces ; Greece dependent.
 137-132 . . . First Slave War in Sicily.
 133 . . . The Province of Asia.
133 . . . Tiberius Gracchus, tribune.
 123-122 . . . Caius Gracchus, tribune.
 112-106 . . . The Jugurthine War.
102 . . . Aquae Sextiae.
 91-88 . . . The Social War.
 88 . . . Sulpicius, tribune ; Sulla masters Rome.
 88-84 . . . First Mithridatic War.
 87 . . . Cinna and Marius.
 83-82 . . . Civil War between Sulla and the Democrats.

B.C.

- 83-81 . . . Second Mithridatic War.
 82-79 . . . Sulla dictator.
 76 . . . Pompey goes to Spain against Sertorius.
 74-63 . . . Third Mithridatic War.
 73-71 . . . Spartacus' rising.
 70 . . . Pompey and Crassus, consuls.
 67-60 . . . Pompey's special commissions against the Cilician pirates
 and against Mithridates.
 63 . . . Pompey makes Judea a tributary state.
 63 . . . Cicero, consul; Catiline's conspiracy.
 60-53 . . . The "First Triumvirate."
 59 . . . Caesar's consulship.
 58-50 . . . Caesar's conquest of Gaul.
 49 . . . Caesar's invasion of Britain.
 49-45 . . . Civil war between Caesar and the oligarchic "Republicans."
 48 . . . Pharsalus.
 46 . . . Thapsus.
 45 . . . Munda.
 44 . . . Caesar assassinated.
 43-31 . . . Second Triumvirate.
 42 . . . Philippi.
 31 . . . Actium.
 27 B.C.-14 A.D. Augustus emperor.

[For the reigns of the emperors to 476 A.D., see §§ 478-491, 494, 550, 558, 559, 562-564, 603, 604.]

A.D.

- 9 . . . Hermann's victory over Varus in the Teutoberg forest.
 43 . . . Beginning of the conquest of Britain under Claudius.
 69 . . . The year of anarchy after the death of Nero.
 70 . . . Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.
 79 . . . Destruction of Pompeii by an eruption of Vesuvius.
 85 . . . Conquest of Britain completed by Agricola.
 101-106 . . . Conquest of Dacia by Trajan.
 161-180 . . . Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor.
 212 . . . All freemen in the empire become Roman citizens.
 226 . . . Rise of the new Persian Empire.
 272 . . . Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, conquered by Aurelian.
 284 . . . Reorganization by Diocletian.
 313 . . . Edict of Milan by Constantine.
 325 . . . Council of Nicaea.
 357 . . . Julian repulses the Alemanni.

TEUTONIC AND ROMAN EUROPE.

A.D.

- 376 . . . The Visigoths admitted into the Empire.**
 378 . . . Adrianople.
 402 . . . Alaric invades Italy.
 406 . . . Vandals invade Gaul and Spain.
410 . . . Alaric sacks Rome.
 414-419 . Visigoths settle in Spain.
 429 . . . Vandals invade Africa.
449 . . . Saxons (Jutes) invade Britain.
451 . . . Attila repulsed at Châlons.
 455 . . . Rome sacked by the Vandals.
476 . . . Odovaker deposes Romulus Augustulus.
 486 . . . Clovis at Soissons.
 489-493 . Theodoric conquers Odovaker.
 493-553 . Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.
 496 . . . Clovis at Strasburg; accepts Catholic Christianity.
 [527-565 . Justinian I, emperor.]
 533-553 . Belisarius and Narses reconquer Italy and Africa for the
 Empire.
 568 . . . The Lombards enter Italy.
 590 . . . Gregory the Great becomes Pope.
 [610-641 . Heraclius, emperor, saves Europe from the Persians.]
 [622 . . . **The Mohammedan Hegira.**]
 628-638 . Dagobert.
687 . . . Battle of Testry.
 711 . . . The Saracens enter Spain.
 [717 . . . **Leo III, at Constantinople, repulses the main Saracenic
 invasion of Europe.**]
**732 . . . Charles the Hammerer repulses the Spanish Mohammedans
 at Tours.**
 751 . . . Pippin, king of the Franks.
 768 . . . Charlemagne, king of the Franks.
 [797 . . . Irene seizes the imperial throne at Constantinople.]
800 . . . Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome.
 814 . . . Death of Charlemagne.

II. A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following works are classified, first by subject, according to the general treatment in this text-book; and then, under each subject, in two groups. In the judgment of the writer, all high school libraries should contain Group I under each division, or an equivalent; and large high schools may, with advantage, possess Group II also. A reduction of from twenty to thirty per cent from the list price can usually be obtained. For a discussion of the value of the principal works, it is well to consult Charles Kendall Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature* (Harpers).

Works marked with a * should be present in more than one copy.

When a book belongs to a series, the name of the series, in quotation marks, is usually given in a parenthesis after the title. In the case of translations, the translator's name is sometimes given after the title, in parenthesis. When a work has been completely revised, two dates are given,—one for the original publication (in parenthesis) and one for the latest revision.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. (See Introduction.)

GROUP I.

- BRINTON (D. G.), *The American Race*. \$2.00. McKay, New York 1891.
 CHAILLU (P. DU), *The Viking Age*. \$7.50. Scribner . . . 1889.
 DODGE (R. J.), *Our Wild Indians*. \$2.50. Hartford . . . 1882.
 GRINNELL, *The Indians of To-day*. \$5.00. Stone, Chicago . . . 1900.
 HOERNES (MORRIS), *Primitive Man*. \$0.40. Macmillan . . . 1901.
 KEARY (C. F.), *The Dawn of History*. \$1.25. Scribner . . . 1895.
 MASON (O. T.), *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. \$1.75.
 Appleton 1894.
 SERGI (G.), *The Mediterranean Race*. \$1.50. Scribner . . . 1901.

GROUP II.

- LANG (ANDREW), *Custom and Myth*. \$1.50. Longmans . . . 1885.
 SPENCER (HERBERT), *Ceremonial Institutions*. \$1.25. Appleton 1880.
 TYLOR (E. B.), *The Early History of Mankind*. \$3.50. Holt . . . 1870.

ORIENTAL HISTORY. (See Part I.)

GROUP I.

- CLODD (E.), *Story of the Alphabet*. \$1.00. Appleton . . . 1900.
- GOODSPEED (G. S.), *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*.
\$1.25. Scribner 1902.
- HOSMER (J. K.), *The Jews* ("Nations"). \$1.50. Putnams . 1885.
- MASPERO, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*. \$1.50. Appleton 1892.
- *Egyptian Archaeology*. \$2.25. Putnams 1889.
- These two volumes last named can be spared, perhaps, if the next and more valuable work is present.
- * — *Dawn of Civilization*. \$7.50. Appleton 1896.
- The first of three large volumes dealing with Oriental history; it brings the story down to about 1600 B.C. The two other works, as less essential, are given in Group II.
- PETRIE (W. M. F.), *History of Egypt* (vols. I and II). \$2.25 each. Scribner 1894-1896.
- Records of the Past* (edited by Sayce). 6 vols. \$6.00. Pott, London. Translations of inscriptions, with comments 1888-1892.
- * SAYCE (A. H.), *Assyria: Its Princes, Priests, and People*. \$1.00 1890.
- *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*. \$1.00 . 1893.
- Both published by The Religious Tract Society, London.
- *Babylonians and Assyrians*. \$1.25. Scribner . . . 1899.
- *Early History of the Hebrews*. \$2.25. Macmillan . . 1897.

GROUP II.

- HILPRECHT, *Explorations in Bible Lands*. \$2.50. Holman, Philadelphia 1903.
- MASPERO, *Struggle of the Nations*. \$7.50. Appleton . . . 1897.
- This follows *The Dawn of Civilization*, mentioned above, to 850 B.C.
- *Passing of the Empires*. \$7.50. Appleton 1900.
- This continues the story of the preceding volume to the Greek period.
- RAWLINSON (GEORGE), *Ancient Empires*. 3 vols. \$7.50. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1870.
- *Ancient Egypt*. 2 vols. \$5.00. Dodd, Mead, & Co. . . 1882.
- *Story of Egypt* ("Nations"). \$1.50. Putnams . . . 1890.
- ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. 2 vols. \$3.00. Eaton & Mains 1901.
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GREEK HISTORY. (See Parts II and III.)

GROUP I.

Sources.

- * ARISTOTLE, *On the Constitution of Athens* (Kenyon). \$1.10. Macmillan.
- * FLING, *Studies in European History* (Selections from Sources, Greek and Roman History). \$0.50. Ainsworth & Co., Chicago.
- HERODOTUS (Rawlinson's, edited by Grant). 2 vols. \$3.50. Scribner.
- * HOMER, *Iliad* (Lang, Leaf, and Meyers). \$0.80. Macmillan.
- * ——— *Odyssey* (Butcher and Lang). \$0.80. Macmillan.
- PLUTARCH, *Lives* (Stewart and Long). 4 vols. \$4.00. Macmillan.
- POLYBIUS, *History* (Schuckburgh). 2 vols. \$6.00. Macmillan.
- THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War*. \$2.50. Jowett's four-volume translation, edited, in one volume, by Peabody. Lothrop, Boston.
- XENOPHON, *Works* (Dakyns). Vols. I-III. \$7.50. Macmillan.

Cheaper translations can be found, of course, as in Harper's Classical Library, but the editions named above are the most desirable. The translations named in this bibliography have been followed, as a rule, in the quotations in the text.

Modern Accounts.

- ABBOTT (E.), *History of Greece*. 3 vols. \$7.75. Rivington. 1888-1899.
- * ABBOTT (E.), *Pericles* ("Heroes"). \$1.50. Putnams . . . 1895.
- BURY (J. B.), *History of Greece*. \$1.75. Macmillan . . . 1900.
- * COX (G. W.), *Greeks and Persians* ("Epochs"). \$1.00. Longmans . . . 1876.
- * ——— *The Athenian Empire* ("Epochs"). \$1.00. Longmans . 1876.
- *Tales of Ancient Greece*. \$1.25. McClurg . . . 1878.
- CURTEIS (A. M.), *Rise of the Macedonian Empire* ("Epochs"). \$1.00. Longmans . . . 1887.
- FOWLER (W. W.), *The City State of the Greeks and Romans*. \$1.00. Macmillan . . . 1893.
- GARDNER (P.), *New Chapters in Greek History*. \$5.00. Putnams 1892.
- GAYLEY (C. M.), *Classic Myths*. \$1.50. Ginn . . . 1893.
- GRANT (A. J.), *Greece in the Age of Pericles*. \$1.25. Scribner . 1893.

- GREENIDGE, *Greek Constitutional History*. \$1.25. Macmillan . 1896.
- GUERBER (H. A.), *Myths of Greece and Rome*. \$1.50. American Book Co. 1893.
- * HOLM (ADOLPH), *History of Greece*. 4 vols. \$10.00. Macmillan 1885-1894.
- JEFF (R. C.), *Greek Literature* ("Primers"). \$0.35. American Book Co. 1878.
- * MAHAFFY (J. P.), *Survey of Greek Civilization*. \$1.00. Macmillan 1896.
- *Social Life in Greece*. \$2.50. Macmillan 1877.
- *Alexander's Empire* ("Nations"). \$1.50. Putnams . . . 1887.
- MARSHALL (J.), *Short History of Greek Philosophy*. \$1.10. Macmillan 1891.
- MURRAY, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*. \$6.00. Scribner . 1892.
- OMAN (C. W. C.), *History of Greece*. \$1.50. Longmans (1892) 1901.
- SANKEY (C.), *Spartan and Theban Supremacies* ("Epochs"). \$1.00. Longmans (1877) 1898.
- TARBELL (F. B.), *History of Greek Art*. \$1.00. Macmillan . . 1896.
- * WHEELER (BENJAMIN IDE), *Alexander the Great* ("Heroes"). \$1.50. Putnams 1900.

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- BLÜMNER (H.), *Home Life of the Greeks*. \$2.00. Cassell . . 1893.
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- COULANGES (FUSTEL DE), *The Ancient City*. \$1.60. Lee & Shepard 1874.
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- *History of Federal Government*. (2d ed.) \$2.75. Macmillan (1863) 1893.
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- GROTE (GEORGE), *History of Greece*. 12 vols. \$18.00. Harpers 1849.
- HALL (H. R.), *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*. \$3.00. Lippincott 1901.
- HOGARTH (D. G.), *Philip and Alexander*. \$2.50. Scribner . 1897.

LLOYD, <i>The Age of Pericles</i> . 2 vols. \$5.00. Macmillan . . .	1875.
MAHAFFY (J. P.), <i>History of Classical Greek Literature</i> . 2 vols. \$4.45. Macmillan	1890.
— <i>Greek Life and Thought</i> (from Alexander to the Roman Conquest). \$3.50. Macmillan	1887.
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SCHUCHHARDT (C.), <i>Schliemann's Excavations</i> . \$4.00. Macmillan	1891.
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WHIBLEY (L.), <i>Greek Oligarchies</i> . \$1.75. Macmillan . . .	1896.
— <i>Political Parties at Athens in the Peloponnesian War</i> . \$1.00. Macmillan	1889.
WILSON (WOODROW), <i>The State</i> (revised edition). \$2.00. Heath & Co.	1898.

The following Greek writers are desirable also:—

AESCHYLUS (translated by Plumptre). \$1.50. Routledge, New York.
ARISTOPHANES (Select Plays, translated by Frere). \$0.40 each. Routledge, New York.
DEMOSTHENES, <i>Orations</i> (Kennedy). 5 vols. \$5.00. Macmillan.
EURIPIDES, <i>Works</i> (Coleridge). 7 vols. \$0.30 each. Macmillan.
PLATO, <i>Dialogues</i> (Jowett). 4 vols. \$8.00. Scribner.
SOPHOCLES, <i>Works</i> (Coleridge). 7 vols. \$0.30 each. Macmillan.

ROMAN HISTORY. (See Parts IV and V.)

GROUP I.

From the preceding list (Group I) the works of Coulanges, Fling, Fowler, Freeman, Polybius, Wilson.

Sources.

* APPIAN (translated by White). 2 vols. \$3.00. Macmillan.
AURELIUS (MARCUS A. ANTONINUS), <i>Thoughts</i> (translated by Long). \$1.00. Macmillan.
* EPICTETUS (Selections). \$1.00. Putnams; or Long's translation. \$1.50. Bohn.
* LIVY, translated by Spillan. 4 vols. \$4.00. Macmillan.
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- * MUNRO (D. C.), editor, *Source Book in Roman History*. \$1.00. Heath.
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- SUETONIUS, *The Twelve Caesars* (Thompson). \$1.50. Macmillan.
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- * ADAMS (G. B.), *Civilization during the Middle Ages*. \$2.50. Scribner 1894.
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- PLATNER, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*. \$3.00. Allyn & Bacon 1904.
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- CRUTTWELL (C. T.), *Roman Literature*. \$2.50. Scribner . 1890.
- CUTTS (E. L.), *Constantine the Great*. \$1.25. London . . 1881.
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- DRAPER, *Intellectual Development of Europe*. 2 vols. \$3.00.
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INDEX.

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The index may be utilized for reviews upon "cross-topics," or topics that call for an arrangement different from that of the text. The most important subjects for such review are indicated in black italic.

The references are to sections, not to pages.

Aachen (äch'en), 678 *a*.

Abraham, 33, 46 *a*, 652; founder of Hebrew race, 52.

Absolute monarchy, in Egypt, 12; in Assyria, 42; character of Oriental, 66, 68 *c*; in Greek states, 82, 93, 95; in early Rome, 282, 292; new monarchy of Caesar, 456-458, 463; of Augustus, 473, 496-498; medicine of, renewed by Diocletian, 548, 556; nature of, 557; growth toward, in Teutonic states, 643 *a*; Mohammedan, 653; under Charlemagne, 681.

Absolutism, 557 note.

Ab-ys-sin'i-a, 6; Abyssinians in Egypt, 6, 11 note.

Academy, at Athens, 182.

Ac-ar-nā'ni-a, 160, 242.

Ac-cā'di-ans, first inhabitants of Chaldea, 36; cuneiform writing, 37; language of, 38.

A-chāe'a, part of Athenian league, 165.

Achaea, Greece becomes Province of, 397 note.

Achaean culture, 75, 76-84; economic side of, 76-77; the tribe, 78-81; government, 82-84; overthrown by Dorians, 85-89.

Achaean League, 241, 242, 243-251; origin, 243; constitution, 244; first

expansion beyond Achaea, 245; Aratus and, 246; growth, 247; freeing of Athens and Argos, 248; conflict with Sparta, 249; calls in Macedonia, 250; final decline, 251, 394, 397.

Achaeans, mythical origin of, 87 *b*. See Achaean culture.

Achaeus, fabled ancestor of Achaeans, 87 *b*.

A-ehil'lēs, 77, 84, 188, 219.

Āc'o-lyte, 565 note.

Ac-rōp'o-lis, the central hill-fort about which grew Greek and Latin cities, 80, 266, 270.

Acropolis of Athens, 107, 118, 147, 182, 184, 190 note, 204; plan of, 180.

Ac'ti-um, battle of, 472, 473, 521 note.

Adrianople, battle of, 563, 589.

Adriatic Sea, the, Greek colonies on, 91; mentioned, 228, 257, 259, 590; a Roman sea, 367; divides Greek and Roman civilizations, 400; divides Greek and Latin Empires, 564, 610; divides Greek and Latin churches, 659 *b*, 660, 662; Venice founded on, 601.

Āe'dile, 345, 347, 405, 411.

Ae-gē'an Sea, 70, 71 *d*, 86, 129 *a* note, 134, 157, 158, 159, 165, 171, 184, 192, 194, 206; colonization of coasts,

References are to sections.

- 89-90; Persian fleet in, 137, 138, 156, 167; Confederacy of Rhodes in, 234.
- Ae-gí'na**, at war with Athens, 133 *b*, 165; gains prize of merit at Salamis, 149 *a*; mentioned, 147.
- Ae-gos-pōt'a-mi**, battle of, 200; Canon at, 206; mentioned, 201, 202, 205.
- Ae-mil'i-ā'nus**, 494.
- Ae-nē'as**, 451.
- Ae-nē'id**, 525.
- Ae-ō'li-ans**, 87 *b*.
- Āe'o-lus**, 87 *b*.
- Ae'qui-ans**, 260.
- Aeschylus** (ēs'ki-lus), 148 note, 183; quoted, 148, 189 *a*; portrait bust, 183.
- A-ē'ti-us**, 599, 600, 601, 603, 604.
- Ae-tō'lian League**, 242, 251, 391 note, 394.
- Af-ghan-is-tān'**, in Persian Empire, 60; Alexander in, 222.
- Africa**, early civilization in, 6; circumnavigation of, 21 *e* and note; Phoenician sailors on coast of, 49; Greek colonies in, 91; Roman army sent to, 373, 383, 387; Jugurthine war in, 433; Caesar in, 461; Moors, 545; diocese of, 557; Vandals in, 595, 602, 603; reconquered by Justinian, 612; conquered by Mohammedans, 654.
- African desert**, the, boundary of Roman Empire, 506; Roman irrigation, 513.
- Ag-a-mēm'non**, king of Mycenae, 73 *b*, 84.
- Age of Pericles**, 168-191, 204.
- A-gēs-i-lā'us**, king of Sparta, 205.
- Ā'gis**, reforming king of Sparta, 249.
- Ag'o-ra**, in Athens, 181.
- Agrarian laws**, Solon's, 111; in Licinian Rogations, 322, 404 note; of Tiberius Gracchus, 422-425, 431; defined, 422 note; of Julius Caesar, 464.
- A-gric'o-la**, 485, 488, 510.
- Agriculture**, Egyptian, 12; Chaldean, 32 *a*, 40; Greek, 77; in Sparta, 98; in Athens, 105, 111; Italian, 256, 304, 350; decay, 404, 408; under the Empire, 514; Cato on, 523; in later Empire, 575; German, 583; revived in Italy under Theodoric, 607; in Charlemagne's Empire, 680.
- A-grip'pa**, minister of Augustus, 521 note; baths of, 519.
- Aistulf** (is'tulf), 663.
- Aix** (āks), 435.
- Āl'ar-ic**, 590, 591, 592, 603.
- Alba Longa**, 266, 270, 272.
- Al-cāē'us**, 129 *a*.
- Al'chem-y**, 657.
- Al-ci-bi'a-dēs**, 197.
- Alc'man**, 129 *a*.
- Alcuin** (āl'kwīn), 683.
- Alemanni** (ä-lā-män'nē), 545, 562, 563, 582, 617.
- Alexander Se-vē'rus**, 494, 495, 545, 547.
- Alexander the Great**, 21 *c*, 21 *f*, 39, 60, 205; speech to army, 213; conquests of, 219-222; youth and character, 219; accession and restoration of order, 220; invades Asia as champion of Hellas, 220, 221; Persian campaigns, 60, 220, 221; capture of Tyre, 51, 221 *b*; in the far East, 222; results of work, 223-226; expanding views, 223; the many Alexandrias, 224; as Apollo, 224; significance of, 226; death, 226, 227; expansion of Greece under, 252, 253, 333, 373, 405; compared with Caesar, 467.
- Alexandria**, name of many Greek cities in Asia after Alexander, 224.
- Alexandria in Egypt**, 21 *f*, 240; founded, 221 *b*, 224; glory of, 232, 235; library at, 239; Caesar at, 461, note; Antony at, 472; under Roman Empire, 514; university at, 518; patriarchate of, 565.
- Alexandrian Age**, the, 235-240.
- Alexandrian Library**, 239.
- Alexandrian Museum**, 239.
- Algebra**, used by the Saracens, 657.
- Allia**, battle of the, 327.
- "Allies"** (*socii*), the Italian, 341, 412; treated like subjects, 413; but do not pay tribute, 415 note; war of

References are to sections.

- Rome with, 437; admitted to Roman citizenship, 438.
- Alphabet**, germs of, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, 16; invented by Phoenicians, 50; Greek, 74, 85; Cretan, 74 note; German, 583.
- Alps**, boundary of Italy, 255, 259, 368; crossed by Hannibal, 373; by Hasdrubal, 382; by Cimbri, 434; by Germans, 591.
- Ambrose**, bishop of Milan, 563, 579 *b*.
- Am-mi-ā'nus**, 579 *a*.
- Amphictionies**, 87 *c*, 90, 157 note, 270.
- Am-phīc-ty-ōn'ic League**, the, 87 *c*.
- Am-phi-thē'a-ter**, 260, 521.
- Am'ten**, 12 and note.
- A-nāb'a-sis**, 185, 205 note.
- An-āc're-on**, 116, 129 *a*.
- An-āx-āg'o-ras**, 186, 191 *b*.
- An-āx-i-mān'der**, 130.
- An-āx-īm'i-nēs**, 130.
- Ancestor worship**, in Egypt, 18; in Chaldea and Assyria, 45; in Greece, 75, 78, 87 *c*; Roman, 278, 476.
- Ancient history**, definition of, 1; field covered, 3.
- An'cus Mar'ti-us**, 268.
- Angles**, 597.
- Animal worship**, in Egypt, 18.
- Anio River**, the, 307, 317.
- Annals**, early Roman, 267, 280 *a*.
- An-tāl'ci-das**, Peace of, 207.
- Anthony**, Saint, 579 *b*.
- An-tīg'o-nus**, 227.
- Antioch**, 235; under Roman Empire, 514; captured by Persians, 545; patriarchate of, 565; falls before Mohammedans, 660.
- An-ti'o-ehus**, of Syria, 392; war with Rome, 393.
- An'tō-nines**, the, 486-491, 492, 513.
- An-to-nī'nus**, Marcus Au-rē'li-us, 490, 512, 527, 529, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 545, 546, 588; extracts from writings, 536.
- An-to-nī'nus**, Pius, 489, 510, 529, 542.
- An-tō'ni-us**, Marcus, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472.
- Antony, Mark**. See Antonius.
- A-pēl'lēs**, Greek painter, 237.
- Apennines**, the, 255, 257; Samnites in, 332; Roman State crosses, 368; crossed by Hannibal, 373.
- Aph-ro-dī'te**, 88.
- A-pōl'lo**, 88; temple of, at Delphi, 87 *c*; 117, 229 note; Belvidere, 229 and note, 237.
- "Apologies,"** of the Church Fathers, 547.
- "Apostolical Constitutions,"** the, 580.
- Appian**, 351 note, 527.
- Appian Way**, the, 343, 344.
- Appius Claudius**, the decemvir, 314, 316.
- Appius Claudius**, censor and senator, 333, 344, 346 *a*.
- Apse**, 521.
- Aqua Sextiae** (ā'kwā sex'tī-ae), battle of, 435.
- Aqueduct at Nîmes** (nēm), 513.
- Aqueduct of Claudius**, 343 *b*.
- Aquitaine** (ā-kwī-tān'), 647, 649, 650, 656.
- A-rā'bi-a**, 52, 232; Arabians in Egypt, 11 note, 21 *b*; modern, in Chaldea, 32 *a*; language, 36 note; boundary of Roman Empire, 506; commerce, 513; Mohammedanism and, 651-653.
- Arabic notation**, 657.
- A-rā'tus**, general of Achaean League, 245-250; character and services, 246; enmity to Lydiadas, 247; betrayal of Corinth, 250.
- Ar-bē'la**, battle of, 221 *c*.
- Ar-cā'di-a**, 208, 211, 247.
- Ar-cā'di-us**, 564, 590.
- Arch**, Egyptian, 15; Etruscan, 260; in Roman architecture, 520; triumphal, 521.
- Archbishops**, 565.
- Ar-chīl'o-ehus**, 129 *a*.
- Ar-chi-mē'dēs**, 240, 377 note.
- Architecture**, in Egypt, 15; in Chaldea and Assyria, 41; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 *b*; in Greece, 127; in Athens, 182; Roman, 520-522, 607; early Christian, 522.

References are to sections.

- Ar'chi-trāve, in Doric order of architecture, 127.
- Ar'chōn, at Athens, 103, 104, 112 *c* and note, 114, 115, 123, 125, 173, 174, 175; king-archon, 93, 103.
- Ar-e-ōp'a-gus, 104, 112 *a*, 112 *d*, 125, 172 *c*; waning of, 175.
- Arginusae (ar-gi-nōō'sē), battle of, 197 note.
- Ar'gives, see Argos.
- Ar'go-lis, 73 *b*.
- Ar'gos, persistence of kingship in, 93; Pheidon tyrant, 95 note; hostile to Sparta, 96; crippled by Sparta, 133 *b* and note; friendly to Persia, 143; allied to Athens against Sparta, 163, 164; joins Corinthian League against Sparta, 206; joins Achaean League, 248; sacked by Goths, 545, 590.
- Ā'ri-an heresy, 566, 579 *b*; among Germanic tribes, 585, 609, 616, 618, 619.
- A-rī'on, 129 *a*.
- A-ri-o-vīs'tus, 454.
- Ar-is-tār'chus, 240.
- Ar-is-tī'dēs, Athenian leader, 141, 147, 197; ostracized, 141; proposes plan for Delian League, 157.
- Aristocracy, definition, 68 *a*; return to Dorian Greece, 95, 131 *c*; in Sparta, 97; in Athens, 162, 163; in Achaean League, 244; at Rome, 301, 345, 349; in Roman Empire 570-572; among the Germans, 586, 587; in new Teutonic states, 643 *b*.
- Ar-is-tōph'a-nēs, 158, 183.
- Ar'is-tot-le, quoted on Athenian history, 97 note, 105, 108 note, 112 *c* note, 116, 118, 177; place in philosophy, 186; tutor of Alexander the Great, 219; *Natural History* of, 225 *b*, 240; proofs of sphericity of the earth, 240.
- Arithmetic, Egyptian, 17; Chaldean, 39; Roman, 518.
- Ā'ri-us, 566, 579 *b*.
- Ar-mē'ni-a, 49, 60, 64, 228, 441, 450, 471, 509.
- Armenian Mountains, 31.
- Army**, Egyptian, 12; Spartan, 98, 99; citizen armies based on wealth at Athens, 106; Theban phalanx, 210; Macedonian, 215, 223; at early Rome reformed by Servius, 285, 286; under the Republic, 353-356; flexibility of the legion, 353; camp, 354; discipline, 355; becomes professional, 356; proportion of "Allies" increased, 413; used for political ends, 432; Marius reorganizes, 435; under Early Empire, 503-505; size, 503; sources, 504; industrial uses, 505; means of unifying Empire, 516; reforms of Diocletian, 554; in fourth century, 569, 578.
- Ar'ri-a, 530.
- Ar'ri-an, 213, 527.
- Art**, Egyptian, 15; Chaldean and Assyrian, 41; Oriental, 65, 66; contrasted with European, 68 *b*; in Athens of Peisistratus, 116; early Greek, 127; in age of Pericles, 182; in Alexandrian Age, 237; Greek influence on Roman, 407; Roman art, 407; in Augustan Age, 475 note.
- Ar-tax-erx'ēs, king of Persia, 205, 207.
- Ar'te-mis, 88.
- Ar-te-mīs'i-um, battle of, 146, 147.
- Asia, early civilization in, 6, 30; contrasted with European, 68-69; geography of western, 31-32; Scythians in, 34, 62; Gauls in, 229; Rome in, 393, 398 and note, 441, 450, 455, 461.
- Asia, Diocese of, 553.
- Asia, Province of, 398, 441, 450, 455, 457, 461, 479.
- Asia Minor, Assyrians in, 34; under Croesus, 59 *a*; part of Persia, 60; character of civilization, 69 *d*; Hellenizing of, 90; Persian War in, 153-160, 167; betrayed to Persia, 198, 200, 201; war in, 205, 207; Alexander in, 221 *a*; Gauls in, 229; part of Graeco-Oriental world, 228, 231, 232, 234; Lycian Confederacy, 244 note; known as "Asia," 398

References are to sections.

- note; Roman Province, 398, 450, 455, 461, 479, 550; Saracens conquer, 655.
- As-pā'si-a**, 191 *b*.
- Assembly**, Homeric folk-moot, 82, 84; in cities of Delian League, 160; of Achaean League, 244. See Athenian, Spartan, Roman, and Teutonic Assembly, and Mayfield.
- As'sur-Nat'sir-Pal**, king of Assyria, inscription of, 47 *b*.
- As-syr'i-a**, 54, 55, 62; in Egypt, 21 *d*; geography, 32 *b*; political history of empire, 34; society and culture, 36-45; people, 36; cuneiform writing, 4, 37, 62 note; art, 41; king, 42; social classes and relations, 43; laws, 44; religion and morality, 45, 47 *a*, 47 *b*; in Phoenicia, 49, 51; conflicts with Medes and Persians, 59 *b*, 60; contribution to government (satraps), 63; Alexander in, 221 *c*; Roman province, 509.
- As-tār'te**, 358.
- Astrology**, Chaldean, 39.
- Astronomy**, Egyptian, 17 and note; Chaldean, 39 and note, 225 *b*; Greek, 130, 225 *b*, 240; Roman, 527; Saracenic, 657.
- Ä'taulf**, 592, 603.
- Ä'ten**, 25.
- Ath'an-ā'si-us**, 566, 579 *b*.
- A-thē'nē**, 88, 182, 190 note.
- Athenian Assembly**, under Eupatrid rule, 104; constitution of classes, 106; after Solon, 112 *a*, 112 *b*, 112 *c*, 112 *d*, 114; after Cleisthenes, 123, 124; of Pericles, 153, 172 *b*, 173, 174, 176, 180, 187.
- Athenian colonization**, see Cle-ruchs.
- Athenian dicasteries**, 172 *c*, 176; payment of, 177.
- Athenian "Generals,"** 125, 172 *a*, 173, 174, 180.
- Athenian "Leaders of the People" (demagogues)**, 173, 180.
- Athenian political capacity**, 178.
- Athenian senate**, after Solon, 112 *a*, 112 *c*, 114; after Cleisthenes, 123, 125, 174. See Areopagus.
- Athenian state pay**, 177.
- Athens**, 17; situation, 71 *b*; legendary founding, 80; type of Ionic cities, 86; colonies, 92 note; king-archons, 93; rise of, to 500 B.C., 100-126, 131 *e*; importance of, and causes, 100-102; place in history, 100; relation to Attica, 101; favorable conditions, 102; first political revolution, Eupatrid rule, 103-105; decline of Homeric kingship in, 103; rise of archons, 103; Eupatrid political oppression, 104; economic oppression, 105; loss of power by Eupatrids and attempts to overthrow them, 106-108; constitution of "classes," 106; rise of hoplites, 106; attempts at tyranny, 107; Draco, 108; Solon's reforms, 109-114; the tyrants, 115-117, 134 note; Peisistratus, 116, 117; expulsion of sons of Peisistratus, 117; Cleisthenes' reforms, 118-126; vigor of, 118; art, 116, 127; poetry, 116, 129 *b*; condition at Persian attack, 133 *b*; part in Ionian revolt, 135, 136; Persian heralds, 138; Marathon, 138, 139; from Marathon to Thermopylae, 140, 141; internal factions crushed, 140; a naval power, 141; preparation for third attack, 143, 146, 149 *a*; at battle of Artemisium, 146; abandoned to Persians, 147; battle of Salamis, 148; receives offers from Persians, 150; part played at Plataea, 151; leadership, 153-200; growth of empire, 153-160; building of walls, 153; League of Plataea, 154; glory from Persian War, 155; assumes leadership of Asiatic Greeks, 155, 156; at Mycale, 156; Confederacy of Delos, 157-160; expels Persians from the Aegean, 158; reduces rebellious members of the League to position of subjects, 159; Athenian Empire, 159, 160; first period of strife with Sparta, 161-167; jealousy, 161; aids Sparta against Helots, 162; renounces alliance with Sparta, 163; land empire of

References are to sections.

- Pericles, 164; marvelous activity, 165; loss of land empire, 166; truce with Sparta, 167; in peace, 168-191; three forms of greatness, 168; material strength, 169-171; relative power, 169; population, 170; revenue, 171; constitution of Pericles, 172-180; the empire, 179; intellectual and artistic development in, 181-191; Peloponnesian War, 98, 192-200; resources, 193; plague, 194; naval supremacy, 196; new leaders, 197; disaster in Sicily, 198; rule of the Four Hundred, 199; siege and surrender, 200, 201; rule of the Thirty, 204; Corinthian War against Sparta, 206-207; Long Walls rebuilt, 206; attempted surprise by Sparta, 208; new Athenian confederacy, 209; shelters Theban exiles, 209; joins Sparta against Thebes, 210, 211, 212; contest with Philip, 214, 216, 217; Chaeronea, 216; philosophic center in Alexandrian Age, 235, 238, 239; freed from Macedonian garrison by Aratus, 248; refuses to join Achaean League, 248 note; "ally" of Rome, 392; welcomes Mithridates, 441; center of learning under Roman Empire, 518; sacked by Goths, 545; Julian studies at, 562; spared by Alaric, 590.
- A'thos, Mount**, 137, 138; canal, 142.
- Atlantic**, 49, 506.
- At'ta-lids**, 234.
- At'ti-ca**, 184; products, 71 c; tribes of, 80, 104; Ionian, 86, 89, 90, 102; consolidation of, 101; cavalry of, 106; festivals, 116; invaded by Euboeans and Thebans, 118; metics, 120; demes, 121; poets, 129 a; mines, 141; Mardonius in, 150, 153; attempted invasion by Sparta, 161, 164; Spartan invasion, 166, 167; population, 170, 179; ravaged by Spartans, 193; plague, 194.
- Attic comedy**, 183.
- At'til-a**, 599, 600, 601, 603.
- Augurs**, 280, 281, 302 note, 324.
- Augustan Age**, the, 475, 525.
- Au'gus-tīne**, missionary to Saxons in Britain, 623 note.
- Augustine, Saint**, 567, 579 b, 580, 591 note.
- Augustus**, 21 f, 232; appearance at Rome, 468; in triumvirate, 469, 470; at Philippi, 471; Actium, 472; Emperor, 473-476; master of Roman world, 473; character, 474; "Age" of, 475; worship of, 476; summary of reign, 478; and Assembly, 496; keeps Republican forms, 496; power, 497, 498; corrects frontiers, 507; and citizenship, 515; and universities, 518; mausoleum, 519; and Agrippa, 521 note; and Pollio, 533; compared to Constantine, 559; and coloni, 575; name a title for future emperors, 497.
- Au'ra-māz'da** (or A-hu'ra Māz'da), 62.
- Aurelian**, emperor, 494, 495, 509, 545, 546, 548, 588.
- Au-rē'li-us, Marcus**, see Antoninus.
- Aus'pīc-es**, Roman, 280 b; 302 note, 321.
- Aus-trā'si-a**, 647, 649, 650.
- Autun** (ō-tūn'), 519.
- Avars**, 598, 673.
- Ā'ven-tīne**, 271, 312.
- Bā'al**, 51, 358.
- Babylon**, 21 c, 205, 222, 225; capital, 32 c, 33; conquered by Assyria, 34; revolt, 34; New Babylonian Empire, 35, 55, 59 b, 60; library at, 38; astronomy in, 39; Hanging Gardens of, 41; legal code, 44, 46 b; character, 45; commerce, 49; Persian capture, 35, 56, 64, 132; influence on Persia, 61; Alexander's conquest, 221 c; Alexander dies at, 222.
- Bāc'tri-a**, 222, 231, 232.
- Bag'dad**, 656.
- Bal-bī'nus**, 494.
- Ballot**, in Roman Assemblies, 420.
- Baltic Sea**, 582; Phoenician sailors in, 49.
- Barbarian invasions**, Scythian, 34, 62; from the east, 132 and note; by the Gauls into Graeco-Oriental

References are to sections.

- world, 229; into Italy, 260, 327, 402; Cimbri and Teutones, 434, 435; frontiers of Roman Empire, 495, 503; in third century, 545; successful in fourth century, 589 ff. (see Germans); Huns repulsed, 599-601.
- Barbarians**, 87 *a*, 152. See Scythians, Gauls, Germans, Slavs, Huns, Avars.
- Barca family**, 370.
- "Barrack Emperors,"** 493-495, 496, 499, 548.
- Basil, Saint**, 579 *b*.
- Bä-si-leus'**, 93.
- Basileus archon**, 93, 522 note.
- Ba-sīl'i-ca**, 522.
- Bavaria**, 619, 649, 671.
- Bel-i-sā'ri-us**, 595, 612.
- Bel-vi-dōre'**, Apollo, 229 note, 237.
- Benedict, Saint**, 636; the "rule" of, 636, 637 note.
- Benedictines**, the, 636, 637.
- Benefit of Clergy**, origin, 519 note.
- Ben-e-vēn'tum**, battle of, 333.
- Beowulf** (bē'ō-wulf or bā'ō-wūlf), 584.
- Berbers**, 11 note, 358.
- Berlin Papyrus**, 12, 24, 26.
- Bertha**, queen, 623 note.
- Bible**, the, translated into Greek (Old Testament), 239; into Latin, 579 *b*; into Gothic, 579 *b*.
- Bib'ū-lus**, 453.
- Bishops**, 565.
- Bi-thŷn'a**, 501.
- Black Death**, the, 546 note.
- Black Sea**, the, 49, 60, 70, 91, 140 note, 158, 506, 513, 525, 545.
- Bō-a-di-cē'a**, 511.
- Boe-ō'ti-a**, cities of, 101; poets of, 129 *a*, 129 *b*; struggle with Phocis, 133 *b*; Mardonius in, 150; under Athenian influence, 165; falls away from Athens, 166; Leuctra, 210.
- Boeotian league**, 207.
- Bohemia**, 507, 510, 545 note, 598 note.
- Bokhara** (boch-ä'ra), 64.
- Book of the Dead**, Egyptian, 22.
- Bordeaux** (bör-dō'), 519.
- Bös'pho-rus**, 91.
- Bräs'i-das**, 197.
- Brēn'nus**, 327 note.
- Britain**, Phoenician sailors in, 49, 50; Caesar in, 454; Roman conquest of Southern, 481; conquest completed, 485, 508, 511; Hadrian's Wall in, 488; diocese of, 553; conversion, 584; abandoned by Roman Empire, 509, 597, 603; Teutonic invasions, 597, 603; gradual conquest, 621; a Teutonic state, 622; conversion to Christianity, 623; old Celtic church in North, 623; political results of conversion, 624.
- Bronze**, use of, by the ancients, 14 and note; supplied by Phoenicians, 50; pitcher of, from Mycenae, 73; weapons of, discovered at Troy, 73 *a*; dagger of, from Mycenae, 73 *b*; in Mycenaean civilization, 74; Etruscan, 260.
- Brū'tus (Lucius Junius)**, first consul of Rome; 292 note, 351.
- Brutus (Marcus)**, the Republican, 466, 471.
- Bulgaria**, 507.
- Bulgarians**, 598 note.
- Burgundians**, 582; in Gaul, 593, 594, 603; at Chalons, 599; numbers, 628; Arians, 618, 619; conquered by Clovis, 619.
- Burgundy**, 647.
- Bŷ'zān'tīne Empire**, 610-613, 660, 662, 676-679. See Roman Empire in the East.
- By-zān'ti-um**, 91, 155 note, 228, 559.
- Cā'diz**, founded by Phoenicians, 50.
- Cāē'li-an Hill**, the, 271.
- Caesar**, Caius Julius, 17; studied oratory at Rhodes, 235 note; Corinth rebuilt by, 397 note; military chief, 403, 431, 456; in hiding from Sulla, 443 note; appears as leader, 451; in Spain, 452; rise at Rome, 453-455; in Gaul, 454; rupture with Pompey, 455; five years' rule, 456-467; hope of subject nations, 457; crosses Rubicon, 459; campaign in Italy, 459; in Spain and Greece, 460; in Asia, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, 461; constructive work, 462-465; clemency, 462; form of his

References are to sections.

- government, 463, 497; reforms, 464; assassination of, 466; character, 467; frontiers, 506; and citizenship, 575; writings, 524; and Diocletian, 559, 588, 613; name a title for future rulers and assistants, 497, 550.
- Caesars, the, 550.
- Caledonia, 485.
- Calendar, Egyptian, 17; Roman, 280 *a*, 464 and note.
- Cal-ig'ū-la, 480, 482, 512.
- Caliphs, the, 653.
- Cāl'li-as, Peace of, 167.
- Cal-lic'ra-tēs, 182.
- Cal-li'nus, 129 *a*.
- Ca-mil'lus, 326 note.
- Cam-pā'ni-a, 260, 330, 333, 336.
- Campus Mar'tius (mar'shī-us), 520.
- Cā'naan, 53.
- Can'nāe, battle of, 374, 376, 379, 381, 404.
- Canton, German, 586; Latin, see Tribes.
- Capital, from Karnak, 15; Doric, 127; Ionic, 127; Corinthian, 127.
- Cap'i-to-line Hill, the, 271, 451.
- Ca-pit'ū-lā'ries, of Charlemagne, 681 *d*.
- Cap-pa-dō'ci-ans, 64.
- Capri (cā'prē), 479.
- Cap'ū-a, 375, 380, 384 note, 419, 439, 464.
- Car-a-cāl'la, 494, 495, 515; baths of, 519.
- Cā'ri-ans, 64, 158.
- Ca-rī'nus, 494.
- Car-o-lin'gi-ans, 664 ff.; term explained, 668 note.
- Cār'o-lus Māg'nus, 667. See Charlemagne.
- Cār'thage, Phoenician colony, 50, 133 *a*; attacks Greeks in Sicily, 133 *a*, 143; defeated at Himera, 150, 218; held in check by Athenian name, 169; renews attacks on Sicily, 201; Punic wars mentioned, 230, 232, 258; attacked by Pyrrhus, 333; mistress of western Mediterranean, 357; rival of Rome, 358; in Sicily, 360; resources, 361; First Punic War, loses Sicily, 365; loses Sardinia, 366; Second Punic War, loses Spain, 370-384; Third Punic War, 387-390; blotted out, 390; rebuilt by Octavius, 397 note; territory colonized by Gracchus, 428; capital of Vandal kingdom, 595.
- Cā'rus, 494.
- Cās'pi-an Sea, 49, 60.
- Cassius (cash'i-us), 424, 466, 471.
- Cassius, Spu'ri-us, 312 note, 322, 325.
- Caste, none in Egypt, 12; in India, 12 note; tendency to, in Roman Empire, 576.
- Catholic church, 565. See Church.
- Cāt'i-line, 452.
- Cā'to, Mār'cus Por'ti-us, 418, 420, 523, 532.
- Cato, the Younger, 451, 461 note.
- Ca-tū'l'lus, 524.
- Cau'ca-sus, 60.
- Cau'dine Forks, battle of the, 332, 351.
- Celts, 597, 598.
- Censors, 320, 324 note, 345, 347, 420.
- Census, of Servius, 286; of Caesar, 464; of Augustus, 475, 476.
- Centralization, term explained, 557 note.
- Centuries, Army of, 286; Assembly of, see Roman Assembly.
- Cē'os, 129 *a*.
- Cer-a-mī'cus, 182.
- Cē'rēs, 88.
- Cer-y-nē'a, 243.
- Chaer-o-nē'a, battle of, 216, 219, 220.
- Chāl'cis, 91 and note, 118, 214.
- Chal-dē'a, early home of civilization, 5; isolation of, 6, 7; ceases, 30; geography and fertility, 32 *a*; First Chaldean Empire, 33; yields supremacy to Assyria, 34; Second (or Babylonian) Empire, 35; society and culture, 36-45; people, 36; cuneiform writing, 37; literature, 38; science, 39; calendar, 39; industry, 40; architecture and sculpture, 41; society, 43; legal codes, 44, 46 *b*; religion and morality, 45; commerce, 43, 49, 50; emigration of Abraham, 52. See Babylon.

References are to sections.

- Chalons** (shāl-lōn'), battle of, 600, 603.
- Champollion** (shōn-pōl-yōn'), 4.
- Charlemagne** (shār'l'e-mān), 608, 634; accession and character, 667; wars, 669-671; ideal, 672; defensive wars against the Slavs, 673; revives Roman Empire in West, 674, 675; Empire of, 676-684; place in history, 685.
- Charles Mar-tel'**, 650, 656, 664.
- Charms**, Chaldean, 39.
- Chē'ops**, king of Egypt, 15.
- Cher-so-nēse'**, 140 and note.
- Chester**, 354 note.
- Chiefs, Council of**, Homeric, 83, 84, 93, 94; origin of Spartan senate, 97; of Athenian Areopagus, 104; Roman, 282, 284; German, 586, 587.
- China**, early civilization, 3, 6, 67, 226; trade routes to, 513 note.
- Chī'os**, 160.
- Christ**, birth of, 253, 476, 478; crucifixion, 479.
- Christianity**, outgrowth of Hebrew religion, 57, 58; persecutions of, 482, 485, 487, 490, 495, 540, 541, 542; inner sources of power, 538; debt to Empire, 539; Constantine makes favored religion, 560; steps in victory, 561; Julian's attempt to overthrow, 562; persecutes pagans and heretics, 563, 567; reaction of its victory over the Empire, 568; reaction from the barbarians, 568, 632; in Dark Ages, 632. See Church and Heresies.
- Chrý-sōs'tom**, 567, 579 b.
- Church**, the, organization, 539, 541 b, 565; growth of creeds, 566; heresies, 566; persecution by, 567; attitude toward pagan learning, 580; and barbarians, 632; Great schism—Greek and Latin churches, 660. See Christianity.
- Church of St. Mary of the Angels**, 567.
- Cicero**, 416, 451, 452, 454, 468, 470; "Age" of, 524.
- Cilicia**, 64; pirate state in, 450.
- Cim'brī**, in Italy, 434, 435.
- Cī'mon**, 158, 162, 163, 173, 180.
- Cīn'a-don**, 203 note.
- Cīn-cin-nā'tus**, 326 note, 350.
- Cīn'na**, 440, 451.
- Cis-āl'pīne Gaul** (Gāl'li-a Cis-āl-pī'na), 255, 333, 369, 373, 384, 416, 454, 457, 458.
- Cities**, in Egypt, 12; in Chaldea, 32 c, 33, 38; in Phoenicia, 51; in Asia Minor, 59 a, 134; excavated at Troy, 73 a; in Macedonian Empire, 224; built by Seleucus, 231; under Roman Empire, 500, 513, 514.
- Citizenship**, Athenian, 120, 122, 170, 174, 178, 179, 204; Spartan, 98, 203, 210; Roman, 273, 274, 305; extended to Latins, 331; rights, 335; classes, 336; decrease in Second Punic War, 404; distinction between citizens and subjects intensified, 412; Gracchi try to extend over Italy, 424, 430; Drusus' attempt, 436; social war, 437; extended to "Italians," 438; to Cisalpine Gaul, 457; to Gaul and Spain, 465; to other provincials by Claudius, 481; to all free inhabitants of the Empire, 495.
- City-state**, the, of the Greeks, 80, 81, 82; government of, 93-95; decline, 201; failure, 212; Roman, 253, 338.
- Ci-vī'lis**, 511.
- Civilization**, definition of, 1; Oriental, 3; progress of, in valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, 5; in Egypt, 10, 11-20; union of Egyptian and Chaldean, 30; Chaldean and Assyrian, 36-45; spread by Phoenicians, 50; expansion under Persian rule, 61-64; Oriental progress summarized, 65-67; European and Oriental contrasted, 68-69; Greek typical of European, 70-71; prehistoric in Greece, 72; Mycenaean, 74; Achae-an, 75; unity of Greek, 87; Greek to 500 B.C., 127-130, 134; battle of Greek and Oriental in Persian wars, 152; Athenian, 168-191; merging of East and West, 223; Hellenism the active element in Graeco-Oriental culture, 224; expansion in Graeco-Oriental world, 228 and note, 235-

References are to sections.

- 240; Roman, 252-254; later in Rome than in Greece, 256; Etruscan, 260; Adriatic divided Latin from Greek, 400; wider home won for Roman, by Caesar, 454 *b*; in Britain, 485; adopted by Germans, 578; Mohammedan, 647.
- Clan**, in early Greece, 78, 79; clan villages, 80; in Athens, 104, 115, 119 *b*, 120, 121; Roman, 267 *b*, 268, 276; German, 586.
- Claudian**, poet, 516.
- Claudius**, Emperor, 481, 508, 515.
- Claudius II**, 494, 495, 545, 548.
- Claudius Nero**, 382.
- Cla-zōm'e-nae**, 207.
- Cleisthenes** (clīs'the-nēs), 117, 180; reforms of, 118-126; mentioned, 141, 172, 174, 179, 204, 310 note.
- Clement**, Saint, 547.
- Cle-ōm'e-nēs**, reforming king of Sparta, 249, 250.
- Clē'on**, Athenian demagogue, 197.
- Cle-o-pā'tra**, 21 *f*, 232, 461, 472.
- Clēr'uehs**, Athenian colonists, 118, 170, 179, 336.
- Clients**, Roman, 273, 274, 277.
- Clī'vus Cap-i-to-li'nus**, 519.
- Clodowig** (clō'do-vig), see Clovis.
- Clotilda**, wife of Clovis, 618.
- Clovis**, 617, 618, 619, 628, 630.
- Clyde**, the, 485, 510.
- Cnī'dus**, battle of, 206.
- Code**, the, of Justinian, 613 and note.
- Cog-no'men**, 383 note.
- Cōl'ehis**, 50.
- Cōl-i-sē'um**, 519, 521, 528 note.
- Cōl'ine Gate**, battle of the, 442.
- Cologne** (kō-lōn'), 596.
- Cō-lō'ni**, 575. See Serfs.
- Colonization**, Phoenician, 50; Greek, 89-92; Athenian cleruchies, 118, 170, 199; in Macedonian Empire, 224; early Roman, 304 *a*, 312, 332; "Latin" colonies, 339, 350; in Cisalpine Gaul, 360; extended by Caius Gracchus, 428; Caesar's, 464; Augustus's, 475.
- Colonnades**, in Greek architecture, 127, 181, 182.
- Co-lum'ban**, Saint, 623 note.
- Column**, in Egyptian architecture, 15; in Greek architecture, 127, 181.
- Comedy**, Roman, 523.
- Comitia Cen-tū-ri-ā'ta**, see Roman Assembly.
- Comitia Cū-ri-ā'ta**, see Roman Assembly.
- Comitia Tri-bū'ta**, see Roman Assembly.
- Comitium** (co-mish'i-um), 271.
- Commerce**, early routes of, 7, 30, 221 *c*; in Chaldea and Assyria, 43, 44, 49; Phoenician, 49; Greek, 71 *c*, 91; in Athens encouraged by Peisistratus, 116; growth in Athens, 118, 192; stimulated in Graeco-Oriental world, 225 *a*; Etruscan, 260; on the Tiber, 264; Roman, after Second Punic War, 404; under Empire, 513.
- Com-mer'ci-um**, 335 *a*.
- Com-mō'dus**, 491, 493, 495.
- "Companions"** (German institution of), 587.
- Com-pur-gā'tion**, 641.
- Con-nū'bi-um**, 335 *b*.
- Conon**, 206.
- Constans**, 562.
- Constantine, the Great**, 519, 521, 542, 548, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562.
- Constantine II**, 562.
- Constantine IV**, repulses Mohammedans, 655.
- Constantine VI**, 674, 676.
- Constantinople**, 559; threatened by Goths, 589; by Slavs, 611, 655; by Persians, 655; by Saracens, 655.
- Constantinople, Patriarchate of**, 565.
- Con stān'ti-us**, 558.
- Constantius II**, 562.
- Constitution**, of Egypt, 12; of Chaldea and Assyria, 42, 44; of Homeric Greece, 82-84; of Sparta, 97, 249; of Athens, Eupatrid, 103-108; Solon's, 110-114; of Cleisthenes, 119-126, 141; of Athenian Empire, 172-180; of the Four Hundred in Athens, 199; of Philip II in Greece, 216; of cities in the Macedonian Empire, 224; of Achaean League, 244; of Lycian Confederacy, 244

References are to sections.

- note; Roman, in regal period, 282-284; in early Republic, 293-298, 302, 307, 308, 310-312; of united Italy under Rome, 334-356; perfected Republican, 345-349; decay, 410; of Sulla, 444, 449, 453; of Caesar, 463; of Augustus, 473, 478, 496-502; of Diocletian, 548-557; of Teutonic tribes, 586, 587; of new Teutonic states, 643; of Charlemagne's empire, 681.
- Consular tribunes**, 320.
- Consuls**, Roman, 291, 292; character of office, 293-298; admission of plebeians to the office, 320-325; functions, 347; under the Empire, 498.
- Cor-cŷ'ra**, 91, 143, 160, 192 note, 367.
- Cor-dō'va**, 656.
- Co-rŷn'na**, 129 *a*, 191 *b*.
- Corinth**, 92 note, 95, 129 *a*, 147, 178; Hellenic Congress at, 143, 144; jealous of Athens, 153, 164, 165, 192 and note, 200; jealous of Sparta, 206; Congress of, under Philip, 216; in Achæan League, 247, 250; destroyed by Rome, 397 and note; rebuilt by Caesar, 397 note, 464; sacked by Goths, 545, 590.
- Corinthian order of architecture**, 127, 520.
- Corinthian War**, 206-207.
- Corinth, Isthmus of**, 109 note, 144, 151, 164, 165, 247.
- Cor-i-o-lā'nus**, 326 note.
- Cornelia**, 421, 431.
- Corsica**, 358, 366, 369.
- Cos**, 228.
- Council of Achæan League**, 244.
- Council of Five Hundred**, Athenian, 174.
- Council of Ni-cār'a**, 566 and note.
- "Council of the Plebs,"** 318 note.
- Cras'sus**, 447, 449, 453, 455.
- Cretan alphabet**, 74 note.
- Crête**, 74 note, 143.
- Crimea**, 662.
- Crŷt'i-as**, leader of the Thirty at Athens, 204.
- Crōs'sus**, king of Lydia, 59 *a*; and Cyrus, 60, 134; and cities of Asia Minor, 134.
- Culture**, 6 note. See **Civilization**.
- Cu-nāx'a**, battle of, 205.
- Cunc-tā'tor**, see **Fabius**.
- Cu-nē'i-form writing**, 33, 37, 38, 62 note; used by Phœnicians, 50.
- Cū'ri-als**, 572, 573, 576.
- Cū'ri-as**, Roman, 268, 276, 278, 283.
- Cū'ri-o**, Caesar's lieutenant, 467.
- Cū'ri-o**, M., 350, 420.
- Curule Office**, 345, 346, 347, 411.
- Cŷ'lon**, 107, 108.
- Cynics**, 238.
- Cy-nos-cēph'a-lae**, battle of, 392, 399.
- Cŷp'ri-an**, Saint, 547.
- Cyprus**, 49, 74, 207, 232.
- Cy-rē'ne**, 91.
- Cyrus**, the Great, 60, 62, 134.
- Cyrus**, the Younger, 205.
- Dacia**, 487, 495, 509, 545, 553.
- Dāg'o-bert**, 648, 649, 668.
- Da-mās'cus**, 657.
- Dante** (dān'te or dān'tā), 525.
- Danube**, 60, 230, 485, 487, 490, 495, 503, 507, 510, 563, 582, 589, 592, 605, 611.
- Da-rī'us Cod-o-mān'nus**, 221 *b*, 221 *c*.
- Darius**, the Great, conquests of, 62, 136; organization by, 63, 64, 223; war with Greece, 136 and note, 137, 138; death, 142.
- Dark Ages**, the, 626, 627; the church in, 632; moral preaching in, 632 and note; barbarian invasions and, 628-633.
- Dā'tis**, Persian general, 138.
- David**, king of the Hebrews, 7, 54.
- Debt**, laws concerning, in Athens, 105, 111 *b*; in Rome, 304, 307; Licinian Laws, 322; Caesar's law, 464.
- Dēc'arch-ies**, under Spartan protection, 202 and note.
- De-cēm'virs**, Roman, 108 note; 313-318, 327.
- Dē'ci-us**, 494, 495, 542.
- "Decretals of Isidore,"** 666.
- Dedan**, 49.
- Delos**, **Confederacy of**, foundation and constitution, 157; work and

References are to sections.

- growth, 158; change in character, 159; becomes the Athenian Empire, 159, 160; revolt of Thasos, 161.
- Delos, Slave Market**, 418.
- Del'phī**, 87 *c*, 92, 117, 229.
- Delphic Oracle**, 87 *c*, 92, 117 and note, 143, 147.
- De'marchs**, 121.
- Dēmes, Attic**, 121, 122, 170.
- De-mē'ter**, 88.
- Democracy**, definition of, 68 *a*, note; germs of, in Homeric Greece, 82, 84; tyrants pave way for, 95, 131 *c*; Greek definition of, 97; Athens a democracy, 118-126, 131 *e*, 172-180, 204; parties of democracy in Athens, 140, 141, 162, 163; Athens mother of Ionian democracy, 160; attempted overthrow in Athens, 198, 199; democracy in Greece overthrown by Sparta, 202, 204; in Thebes, 209, 211; in Magna Graecia, 218; in Achaean league, 244; in Rome, in form, 346, 349; among early Teutons, 586.
- De-mōc'ri-tus**, 186.
- De-mōs'the-nēs**, Athenian general, 197; Athenian orator, 214.
- De-si-dē'ri-us**, 671.
- Despotism**, see Absolute Monarchy.
- Di-ān'a**, 88.
- Di-cās'ter-ies**, in Athens, 172 *c*, 176.
- Dictatorship**, Roman, 297, 324, 345, 347; obsolete, 443 note; Sulla's permanent, 443; Caesar's, for life, 463.
- Di'gest**, the, 613 note.
- Dī'o-cēse'**, 552, 553; ecclesiastical, 565.
- Di-o-clē'ti-an**, 495, 519, 575, 588; and Christianity, 542; reorganization of Empire, 548-557; abdication, 558 note.
- Di-o-dō'rus**, 525.
- Di-ōg'e-nēs**, the Cynic, 238.
- Dī'on**, 218 note.
- Di-o-nys'i-us**, tyrant of Syracuse, 218.
- Dionysius**, historian, 267, 525.
- Di-o-n̄'sus**, 116, 183; theater of, at Athens, 184.
- Disk-thrower**, statue of, 187.
- Divination**, Chaldean, 39; Etruscan, 260 note.
- Dome**, the, in architecture, 520, 521.
- Do-mī'ti-an**, 485, 510, 521.
- "Donation of Constantine"**, 666.
- "Donation of Pippin"**, 666.
- "Do-nothing Kings"**, 648.
- Dō'ri-ans**, invade Greece, 85, 89, 96, 102; contrasted with Ionians, 86; mythical origin, 87 *b*; in Peloponnesus, 86, 192; in Sicily, 218.
- Doric order of architecture**, 127, 182.
- Dō'rus**, fabled ancestor of the Dorians, 87 *b*.
- Drā'co**, 108 note, 113, 313.
- Drama**, Greek, 120, 183, 184; Roman, 523.
- Druids**, 454 note.
- Drusus**, tribune, champion of Italians, 437.
- Drusus**, tribune, rival of Gracchus, 430.
- Dy'arch-y**, 496.
- Dying Gaul**, statue, 229, 237.
- East, Diocese of the**, 553.
- East, Prefecture of the**, 553.
- East Anglia**, 597.
- Ebro**, the, 372, 373, 671.
- Ec-bāt'a-na**, 221 *c*.
- Economic conditions**, definition of, 105 note; in Egypt, 12, 22, 23, 27, 28; in Chaldea and Assyria, 40, 43, 44, 46 *b*; in Phoenicia, 51; in Greece, 1000 B.C., 76-77; oppression by Eupatrids in Athens, 105; dealt with by laws of Solon, 111; in Graeco-Oriental world, 225 *a*; of Plebeians at Rome, 304; Roman and Italian society, 350; decline during Punic Wars, 404, 405, 408, 410; reforms by the Gracchi, 431; decay after Gracchi, 431; in third century, 546; in fourth century, 569 and note; in Charlemagne's Empire, 680.
- Edicts**, imperial, as a source of law, 497 note.
- Education**, in Chaldea, 38, 39; in Persia, 61; in Sparta, 99; in Athens,

References are to sections.

- 184, 187; under Roman Empire, 518-519; decline in fourth century, 580, 581; monasteries and, 637; Mohammedan, 657; in Charlemagne's Empire, 667, 683. See Schools.
- E-gē'ri-a**, 268.
- Egypt**, early history of, rediscovered, 4; home of early civilization, 5, 68; isolation of, 6, 30; history of, 8-29; physical geography, 8-9; territory, 8; "the gift of the Nile," 9, 32 *a*; political geography, 10; people, society, civilization, 11-20; population, 11; social classes and government, 12; position of woman, 13; the industrial arts, 14; fine arts, 15; literature, 16; science, 17; religion, 18; belief in immortality, 19; morality, 20; political outline, 21; reduced by Assyria, 21 *d*, 34; Phoenician merchants in, 49, 50; Hebrews in, 21 *c*, 52; absorbed by Persia, 132; revolts against Persia, 140, 165, 166; welcomes Alexander, 221 *b*; one of the great powers in the Graeco-Oriental world, 228, 241; under the Ptolemies, 230, 232; one of Great Powers in third century B.C., 357; intercourse with Rome, 391, 392, 393, 394; Roman protectorate, 398, 399; Caesar in, 461; Antony in, 472; Roman province, 473; diocese of, 553.
- Elbe** (ēlb or ēl'be), 507, 670, 673.
- Elections**, in Homeric Greece, 83; in Sparta, 97 and note; in Athens, 93, 106, 112 *c*, 114, 123, 173; in Achaean League, 244; in early Rome, 296, 302, 311, 321, 324; under perfected Republican constitution, 346; abolished or transferred to the senate under the Empire, 496; in cities under the Empire, 500.
- Elgin marbles**, 182 note.
- Elis**, 87 *c*, 248.
- Elishah**, 49.
- E-loy'**, Saint, 632.
- E-lŷs'i-um**, 188.
- Embalming**, Egyptian, 19.
- Em-pēd'o-ciēs**, 186.
- Empire**, definition of, 32 *c* note; Egyptian, 21 *c*; Chaldean, 33; Assyrian, 34; Babylonian, 35; Hebrew, 54, 63 note; Lydian, 59 *a*; Median, 59 *b*, 60; Persian, 60-64; character of Oriental, 68 *c*; growth of Athenian, 153-160, 164, 165, 169-191; of Alexander, 248-251; of Theodoric, 608, 609; of the Merovingians, 620, 647-650; of early Carolingians, 664-668. See Roman Empire, Greek Empire, Empire of Charlemagne.
- Empire of Charlemagne**, preparation for, by early Franks, 620, 647-650, 664-668; by wars of Charlemagne, 670, 673; revival of "Roman Empire" in the West, 674-676; reasons, 674; coronation of Charles, 675; theory, 676; contrasted with Greek Empire, 677; contrasted with old Roman Empire, 678; social and political conditions in, 680-683; place in history, 684. See Charlemagne.
- En'ni-us**, 523.
- England**, see Britain.
- E-pam-i-nōn'das**, 210, 211.
- Eph'e-sus**, 90, 127, 129 *a*, 130.
- Eph-i-āl'tēs**, 146, 162, 163, 172, 175, 180.
- Eph'ors**, Spartan, 97, 98, 99, 151, 249.
- Epic Age** in Greek poetry, 128.
- Ep-ic-tē'tus**, 526, 529, 537.
- Ep-i-cu-rē'an-ism**, 238, 524.
- Ep-i-cū'rus**, 238.
- E-pī'rus**, 70, 71 *a*, 219, 228, 333.
- Eq'ui-tēs**, early Roman, 286; later aristocracy, 404, 405, 417.
- Er-a-tōs'the-nēs**, keeper of the Alexandrian library, 240.
- Er-ech-thē'um**, 182.
- E-rē'tri-a**, 135; captured by Persia, 138.
- E-ṣar-hād'don**, 34.
- Es'qui-line Hill**, 271 note.
- Essex**, 597.
- Ethiopia**, 9, 21 *f*; subdued by Egypt, 21 *a*, 21 *c*, 32 *c* note; revolts, 21 *d*.
- Etruria**, 327, 329, 336.

References are to sections.

- Etruscans**, in early Italy, 260, 261, 265, 341; Rome and, 271, 272, 326; gladiatorial games from, 260, 406.
- Eu-bōē'a**, 91, 146, 193; trouble with Athens, 118; attacked by Persia, 138; revolts against Athens, 166, 167; taken by Thebes, 211.
- Euclid**, 240.
- Eu-dō'xia**, 603.
- Eu-pā'trids**, at Athens, 104, 105; early loss of power and attempts at overthrow of, 106-108; Solon and overthrow of, 109-114.
- Eu-phrā'tēs**, 37, 224, 225 *b*; early home of civilization, 5, 59, 65; contributions to civilization of Egypt, 10; valley subdued by Egypt, 21 *c*, 30; "soul of the land," 31 note; geography, 32; Persia and, 60; Roman control to, 450, 506; separates Empire from Parthians, 455; crossed by Trajan, 487; boundary, 488; attacked by barbarians and Persians, 490, 503, 545.
- Eu-ríp'i-dēs**, Greek tragedian, 183, 224; quoted, 78; portrait bust, 183.
- Europe**, contrasted with Asia, 68-69; typified by Greece, 70-71.
- Eu-rým'e-don**, battle of the, 158.
- Eu-sē'bi-us**, 579 *b*.
- Eu-trō'pi-us**, 579 *a*.
- Eux'ine** Sea, 64.
- Ex-āreh'ate** of Ravenna, 615, 663.
- Ex'or-cist**, 565.
- Explorations**, in the east, 4, 73; in Egypt, 10 note; in Chaldea, 33; in Assyria, 34; in Greece, 73, 74 and note; at Troy, 73 *a*; at Mycenae, 73 *b*; at Pompeii, 484.
- Ezekiel**, describing the grandeur of Tyre, 49.
- Fa'bi-an** policy, 374 note, 379.
- Fa'bi-us** (Q. Fabius Maximus), 374, 379.
- Fabius Pictor**, 267, 523.
- "**Fall of Rome**," 569, 578, 604 note.
- Faus-ti'na**, bust of, 530.
- Feudal system**, in Egypt, 12; in medieval Europe, 587.
- Finns**, 545, 598, 599.
- Fire-making**, stages of, 1.
- Flam-ini'nus**, 392, 407.
- Flavian Caesars**, the, 483, 485, 492.
- Florence**, 591.
- Flo-ri-ā'nus**, 494.
- Folk-moot**, see Assembly.
- Forth**, the, 485, 510.
- Forum**, the, 271, 439 note.
- Four Hundred**, the, at Athens, 198, 199.
- Frankish Mark**, the, 671.
- Franks**, 582; raids of, in third century, 545; heathen conquerors, 585, 617; establishment in Gaul, 592, 596, 603; at Chalons, 599; advance under Clovis and his sons, 616-619; empire of, under later Merovingians, 620; causes of success, 616; conversion to Catholicism, 618; morals in seventh and eighth centuries, 620; divisions of empire, 620; rivalry of Austrasia and Neustria, 647; "Do-nothing kings" and mayors of the palace, 648; Testry-victory of Austrasia, 649; under Charles Martel, 650, 664; repulses Mohammedans, 656; Carolingian dynasty, 664; alliance with papacy, 665; under Charlemagne, 668 ff. See Empire of Charlemagne.
- Freya**, 585.
- Frieze** (frēz), in Greek architecture, 127; figures from the Parthenon, 182.
- Gā'dēs**, see Cadiz.
- Ga-lā'ti-a**, 232.
- Gal'ba**, 483.
- Gā'len**, 527.
- Ga-lē'ri-us**, 558.
- Gal-li-ē'nus**, 494.
- Gāl'lus**, 494.
- Gaul**, 91, 255, 539, 596, 600, 603; road through, 386; Germans in, 434, 435, 455; Caesar conquers, 454-455; provincial assemblies in, 502; Romanization, 513; enfranchisement, 515; Alemanni in, 545; Franks in, 545; prefecture, 553; serf risings in, 575; Vandals in,

References are to sections.

- 592, 593; Burgundians in, 593, 594.
See Franks.
- Gauls**, invasion of Greece, 229, 242, 243; in Italy, 260, 261, 326; sack Rome, 267 *a*, 312 note, 322, 327, 328; threaten Italy, 368; Hannibal and, 373; slaves, 418; conquered by Caesar, 454, 455.
- Gā'za**, siege of, 221 *b*.
- Gei'ser-ic**, 595, 603.
- Ġē'lon**, tyrant of Syracuse, 133 *d*, 143, 218.
- General**, office of, in Athens, 172 *a*, 173, 174, 180; in Achaean League, 244, 245, 246, 247.
- Ġēn'e-sis**, 33.
- Gens**, *pl.* gentes, see Clan.
- Ge-nū'ci-us**, 312.
- Geography**, of Egypt, 8-10; of the Tigris-Euphrates states, 31-32; European and Asiatic contrasted, 69, 71 *e*; special features of Greek and their influence, 71; Greek study of, 225 *b*, 240; Roman study, 527; of Rome and Italy, 255-258, 262-266.
- Geometry**, Egyptian, 17; Chaldean, 39; Greek, 130; Euclid, 240.
- Germans**, early attack, 434, 435; in Caesar's time, 454; check Romans at Teutoberg, 478, 507; attack renewed in third century, 545; filter into Empire, 575, 578; home in fourth century, 582; leading peoples, 582; culture, 583; character, 584; religion, 585; Arians, 585; political organization, 586, 587; burst the barriers, 588 ff.; attacks no more formidable than those repulsed earlier, 569; numbers of invaders, 628; West Goths, 589-592; Burgundians, 594; Vandals, 595; Franks, 596; Saxons, 597; contrasted with Slavs, Celts, and Huns, 598; repulse Huns, 599-601; Teutonic generals in Italy behind puppet emperors, 602-603; Teutonic masters of Italy, 604; East Goths, 605; kingdom of, in Italy, 606-609; Lombards in Italy, 614-615; Frankish state, Clovis and later Merovingians, 616-620; Saxon conquest of Britain, 621-624; effect of conquest, Dark Ages, 626-627; preservation of some Roman civilization by, 628-633; reverence for Rome, 630; relation to conquered peoples, 631; church and, 632; adopt idea of the Empire, 634; see Teutonic law; political institutions in new states, 643; contributions to Europe, 645. See Franks and Empire of Charlemagne.
- Gibraltar**, Straits of, 49.
- Gideon**, 53.
- Gilds**, in Roman Empire, 514, 572, 574, 576.
- Gladiatorial games**, 406, 411, 480, 482, 528, 532, 567.
- Gnōs'tics**, 566 note.
- Gor-di-ā'nus I**, 494.
- Gordianus II**, 494.
- Gordianus III**, 494.
- Gör'gi-as**, 186 note.
- Gō'shen**, 52.
- Goths**, 418, 495, 582; West Goths (Visigoths) in Dacia, 545; cross Danube, 563; in Empire, 589; under Alaric, 590; sack Rome, 591, 603; Visigothic state in Spain, 592, 595; at Chalons, 599; Ostrogoths on Danube, 605; conquest of Italy, 606; kingdom of Italy under Theodoric, 606-609; destroyed by Belisarius and Narses, 612; small numbers of, 628.
- Gracchus, Caius**, 413 note, 426-431, 456.
- Gracchus, Tiberius**, 420-425.
- Graeco-Oriental World**, the, 219-251; mingling of east and west by Alexander, 219-226; conquests of Alexander, 219-222; results of Alexander's work, 223-226; Hellenism the active element in, 224; to the Roman conquest, 237-240; the political story, 227-230; Wars of the Succession, 227; situation in the third century B.C., 228; Gallic invasion, 229; final decline, 230; single states in outline, 231-234; Syria, 231; Egypt, 232; Macedonia, 233,

References are to sections.

- Rhodes and Pergamum, 234; society, 235-240; general culture, 235; literature, 236; art, 237; philosophy, 238; libraries and museums, 239; science, 240; European Greece, 241-251; Achæan League, 243, 251; contact with Rome, 257; conquest by Rome, 391-399.
- Graeco-Roman World, the**, 399, 400, 456 ff.
- Gra-ni'cus**, battle of the, 221 *a*.
- Greek Church**, the, 660 note.
- Greek drama**, 129 *b*, 183, 184.
- Greek education**, 187.
- Greek federations**, age of, 241-251; Achæan, 243-251; Aetolian, 242, 251; Lycian, 244 note; Olynthian, 244 note. See Peloponnesian league; Delos; Rhodes.
- Greek fire**, 655 note.
- Greek philosophy**, 130, 186, 235, 238.
- Greek religion**, 78, 87, 88, 188, 238; compared with Roman, 278.
- Greeks**, 64; place in ancient history, 3; in Egypt, 21 *e* and note; receive Oriental civilization from the Phœnicians, 50; history of, 68-218; introductory survey, 68-71; contrasted with Orientals, 68-69; Greece typical of Europe, 70-71; physical geography, 69, 71; character of civilization, 71; prehistoric Greece, 72-84; sources of information, 72-73; Homer and archeology, 72, 73; Mycenaean culture, 74; Archæan culture, 75; society of the Heroic Age, 76-84; economic features, 76-77; the tribal organization, 78-81; the city-state, 80, 81; early political organization, 82-84; from the Dorian emigration to the Persian wars, 85-131; Dorian migration, 85-86; gap in the evidence after Homer, 85; "races," 86; unity of culture, 87, 131 *a*; table of deities, 88; colonization and expansion, 89-92; colonization of the Aegean, 89-90; wider colonization, 100-126; intellectual development and social life, 127-130; art, 127; poetry, 128, 129; philosophy, 130; summary to 500 B.C., 131; the Persian Wars, 60, 132-152; condition of Greece at time of attack, 133; conquest of Ionia, 134; Ionian revolt and Athenian aid, 135; first two attacks on Greece, 136-139; from Marathon to Thermopylae, 140-141; Athens a naval power, 141; the third and main attack, 142-152; preparation for, 143; lines of defense and plan of campaign, 144; loss of Thessaly, 145; Thermopylae, loss of central Greece, 146; Themistocles, 147; battle of Salamis, 148; temptation of Athens, 150; Plataea, 151; meaning of Greek victory, 152; division of Hellas into two rival leagues, 154; Athenian supremacy, 153-200 (see Athens); Peloponnesian War, 192-200; causes, 192; fall of Athens, 200; from fall of Athens to fall of Hellas, 201-218; decline of the city-state, 201; Spartan supremacy, 202-210 (see Sparta); despotism, 202-204; March of the Ten Thousand, 205; league against Sparta, 206; peace of Antalcidas, 207; Thebes and Athens war with Sparta, 209; Leuctra, 210; Theban supremacy, 211-212; Epaminondas, 211; anarchy, 212; subjected to Macedon, 213-217; the history of Hellas merged in that of the Graeco-Oriental world, 217 (see Graeco-Oriental world); the western Greeks, 218; Hellenizing the East, 223, 224; Greek cities in the Orient, 224; reaction of Alexander's conquests on Hellas, 225; federal period in Greece, 241-251 (see Achæan League); dominance of Macedonia, 241; civilization compared with Roman, 252-254; geography of, compared with Italian, 255-257; Magna Graecia falls to Rome, 333; eastern Greek cities friendly to Rome, 391; Roman "allies" defended by Rome against Antiochus, 393; petty quarrels among, 394; rearrangements by Rome, 397; diocese, 553; Alaric in Greece, 590.

References are to sections.

- Greeks in Italy, 257 note, 260, 261, 341. See *Magna Graecia*.
- Gregory II (Pope), 662.
- Gregory III (Pope), 662.
- Gregory of Tours (tōŕ), quoted, 619.
- Gun'do-bald, 594.
- Ġŷm'nā-si-a, Athenian, 182.
- Hadrian, Emperor, 488, 497 note, 515, 542, 555, 579.
- Hadrian, Pope, 662 and note.
- Hadrian's Wall, 488, 510.
- Hal-i-car-nās'sus, 185.
- Hā'lys River, 59 a.
- Ha-mil'car Barca, 366, 370, 371.
- Ham-mu-rā'bi, king of Babylon, 44, 46 b.
- Hanging Gardens of Babylon, 41.
- Hān'ni-bal, 231, 410; character, 371; at Saguntum, 372; invasion of Italy, 373; Cannae, 374; fails to win Italians, 375; neglected by Carthage, 377, 379; at the gates of Rome, 380; recall, Zama, 383; death, 387 note.
- Hār'mosts, Spartan, 98, 202, 204.
- Hā-roun' al Raschid, 679 note.
- Hasdrubal, the Barcide, 378, 382, 383.
- Hasdrubal, Carthaginian general in Third Punic War, 389 and note.
- Hebrews, 31; in Syria, 7; in Egypt, 21 d note, 52; the Assyrian captivity, 34 and note, 55; destruction of Sennacherib, 34; the Babylonian captivity, 35, 55, 56, 58, 61; language Semitic, 36 note, 51; alphabet, 50; political history, 52-56; age of the patriarchs, 52; settlement in Canaan, and age of the Judges, 53; kings and prophets, 54; division and decline, 55; priestly rule, 56; mission of, 57-58; faith in one God, 57, 58, 61; extension of the faith, 58; in Alexandria, 239.
- He-ġi'ra, the, 653.
- Helen, of Troy, wife of Menelaus, 72.
- Hēl'las, 70, 87 b, 89, etc. See *Greeks*.
- Hellen, mythical ancestor of Hellenes, 87 b.
- Hel-lē'nēs, 70, 74, 87 b, 134, 217. See *Greeks*.
- Hēl'les-pont, the, 137, 142 and note, 158, 221.
- Hēl'ots, 98, 162, 202 note, 203.
- Hel-vē'ti-i, 454.
- Hephaestus (he-fēs'tus), 88.
- Hep'tarch-y, the, 597.
- Hē'ra, 88.
- Her-a-clēi'tus, 130.
- Her-āt', 224.
- Her-cū-lā'ne-um, 484.
- Heresies, in the church, 566. See *Arian heresy*, *Gnostics*.
- Hermann, 507, 511.
- Her'mēs, 88; statue of, 182 note.
- Hermits, 635.
- He-rōd'o-tus, quoted, 11 and note, 21 e note, 32 a and note, 61, 74 note, 117 note, 134 note, 136 note, 139, 140 note, 141 note, 142 note, 151 note, 155; place in literature, 185.
- Heroic Age, of Greece, 76.
- Her'ū-li, 604.
- Hē'si-od, 129 b.
- Hes'ti-a, 88.
- Hierarchy, in government, 552, 555.
- Hī'ē-ro I, of Syracuse, 218.
- Hiero II, of Syracuse, 358, 360, 365.
- Hi-er-o-glŷph'ics, Egyptian, 16; on the Rosetta stone, 4, 21 e; sound-symbols, 16. See *Cuneiform writing*.
- Hīm'e-ra, battle of, 150.
- Hindoos, see *India*.
- Hindukush Mountains, 222, 373.
- Hip-pār'ehus, son of Peisistratus, 117; the scientist, 240.
- Hip'pi-as, son of Peisistratus, 117, 138.
- Hippo, 579 b.
- History, definition of, 1; divisions, 3.
- Hīt'tites, 7; and Egyptians, 21 d, 54.
- Homer, 72-76, 84, 85, 87, 89, 129 a, 182 note, 187, 188 note, 191 b, 219, 267 note.
- Ho-nō'ri-us, 564, 590, 591, 592, 603 604.

References are to sections.

Hōp'lites, rise to political power, 106, 107, 170; in battle of Marathon, 138; at Thermopylae, 146.

Horace, 409, 475 note, 525.

Ho-rā'ti-an Law, the, 311 note.

Ho-rā'ti-us, 292 note.

Hor-tēn'si-an Law, the, 346 c.

Hos-tīl'i-us Tūl'lus, 268.

Hün'nen-schlacht, 600.

Huns, impel Goths against the Empire, 589; Attila's invasion, 598-601; race, 598; West rallies against, 599; Chalons, 600; and Ostrogoths, 605.

Hÿk'sos, or Shepherd Kings in Egypt, 21 b, 21 c, 21 d note, 52.

Hy-mēt'tus, 116.

Hy-pēr'bo-lus, 197.

Hÿ'pha-sis River, 222.

I-a-pÿġ-i-ans, 261.

I-con-o-clās'tic question, the, 660.

Ic-tī'nus, 182.

Il'i-ad, 72, 73 a, 84, 87, 128, 219.

Il'i-um, 72.

Il-ÿr'i-a, 213, 220, 367, 391, 590.

Im'bros, 207.

Immortality, believed in by Egyptians, 19, 22, 26; by Assyrians, 45; by Greeks, 188, 238.

Im-per-ā'tor, Caesar's title, 463; Augustus's title, 473.

Imperator Caesar Augustus, title, 497.

India, early civilization in, 3, 6, 67; caste in, 12; commerce of, 49; Persia in, 60; Alexander the Great and, 222, 224 b, 225.

Indian Ocean, 225 b.

Indus River, 60, 222, 224, 225 b, 228, 455.

Industry, Egyptian, 12, 14; Chal-dean, 40; Greek, 77; Italian, demoralized by Punic Wars, 376, 404; thrives under the Empire, 475, 514; demoralized in Empire by plagues, 546; decrease in fourth century, 570, 573, 574, 575, 576.

In-ex'pi-a-ble War, the, 366.

Inferiors, at Sparta, 203, 249.

Inscriptions, ancient, 4; on walls of Egyptian temples, 15, 16, 23; of Assur-Natsir-Pal, 47 b; Assyrian, 33, 37; Spartan, at Thermopylae, 146; Etruscan, 260.

In'ter-rē'gēs, 284.

Ion, 87 b.

I-ō'ni-a, Phoenicians in, 49; colonized by Greeks, 90; early center of art, 127; poets of, 129 a; rise of philosophy in, 130; leads in early Greek culture, 131 f; conquest by Persia, 134; revolts, 135-137; war to free from Persia, 154-160; Athens assumes leadership, 156; Delian league, 157-160.

Ionian Revolt, the, 135; relation to Persian attack on Greece, 136.

Ionians, a Greek "race," 86; mythical origin, 87 b; driven out of Peloponnesus by Dorians, 90-102; colonization of Ionia, 90; democracy among, 95; in Sicily, 86, 218; in Attica, 102 and note; inhabitants of Ionia, see Ionia.

Ionic order of architecture, 127.

Ip'sus, battle of, 227, 231.

Iran (ē-rān'), Plateau of, 34, 59 b, 60.

Ireland, 623.

I-rēne', 660 note, 674.

Iron, none in Egypt until 800 B.C., 14 note; in Greece, 75; Etruscan, 260.

Iroquois (ir-o-kwā'), the, compared with early Germans, 583.

Is'e-as, 243.

Iskandar, 224 and note.

I-sōc'ra-tēs, 160, 186 note.

Israel, Kingdom, 55; in captivity, 34, 55. See Hebrews.

Is'sus, battle of, 221 b.

Italians, race, 260, 261; name of Rome's "Allies" in Italy, 341; fidelity to Rome in Punic War, 375, 379; attempts to extend citizenship to, 424, 430, 437; social war, 437; secure citizenship, 438.

Italy, Greek colonies in, 70, 86 note, 91, 133 a, 160, 218; geography, 255-258; classical meaning of "Italy," 255; peoples, 259-261; unification by Rome, 326-333; under Roman

References are to sections.

rule, 334-356; invaded by Hannibal, 373-383; decline of peasantry in, 408, 410; evils of oligarchic misgovernment in second century B.C., 412-413; slave revolts in, 419; attempts to extend Roman citizenship in, 424, 430, 437; social war, 437; becomes part of Roman state, 438; civil war in, 442; Caesar's campaign against Pompey in, 459; prosperity restored by Augustus, 475; prefecture of, 553; diocese of, 553; Alaric in, 590, 591; Vandal invasion, 595; Hun invasion, 601; in fifth and sixth centuries, 602-615; from Alaric to Odovaker, 602-604; kingdom of East Goths in, 605-609; Theodoric the Civilizer, 607; reconquered by the Empire, 612; Lombards in, 614-615; final break-up of Italian unity, 615; attempt of Lombards to reunite, frustrated by popes, 663, 665; Franks in Italy, 665.

I-ū'lus, 451.

Jacob, 52.

Ja-nīc'ū-lum, Mount, 272, 517.

Jā'nus, Temple of, 473 note.

Javan, 49.

Jax-ār'tēs River, 60, 224.

Jeph'thāh, 53.

Jerome, Saint, 579 *b*, 580.

Jerusalem, sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, 35; sacked by Romans, 56, 483.

Jerusalem, Patriarchate of, 565.

Jews, dependent kingdom, 450; rebellion subdued by Titus, 483, 571.
See Hebrews.

Jor-dā'nes, see Jornandes.

Jor-nān'des, 600 note.

Joseph, 52.

Jo-sē'phus, 483 note, 526.

Joshua, 53.

Jō'vi-an, 563.

Judah, Kingdom of, 34, 35, 55. See Hebrews.

Judea, 56, 58, 483, 539.

Judges, of Hebrews, 53.

Jūg'e-ra, 322, 422.

Ju-gurth'a, 433.

Julian, 562, 579 *a*, 588.

Julian Caesars, the, 477-482, 492.

Ju-li-ā'nus, 494, 495.

Junō, 88.

Jupiter, 88; temple of, 519.

Jury, Athenian, 176.

Jus-tīn'i-an, 595, 612, 613.

Justinian Code, the, 613.

Jūtes, 597.

Juvenal, 405, 527, 529.

Kā-dī'jah, 652.

Kān-da-hār', 224 note.

Karlmann, 664.

Kār'nak, temple at, 12; aisle in the ruins at, 15; capital from, 15.

Kent, 597.

Khuniatonu (kōō-ni-a-tō'nōō), king of Egypt, hymn by, 25.

King priest, in Rome, 292.

Kingship, see Absolute Monarchy, Teutonic kingship.

Kīt'i-on, 49.

Knights, Roman, see Equites.

Kō-rān', the, 652.

Lac-e-dae-mō'ni-ans, see Sparta.

La-cō'ni-a, Spartan supremacy in, 96, 101, 207, 210; classes in, 98, 192; Athenians ravage coasts of, 165; invaded by Thebes, 211.

Lac-tān'ti-us, 547.

Landholding, in Egypt, 12 and note; in Chaldea, 46 *b*; in Sparta, 98, 249; in early Athens, 105; Solon's reforms concerning, 111 *a*, 111 *e*, 112, 114, 120; at Rome, by plebeians, under the kings, 301; plebeians and the public land in the early Republic, 304 *a*, 312; Licinian Laws, 322; granted to poor, 350; seized by equites, 404 note, 409; attempts at reform, 420, 422-425; Caesar's reforms, 464.

Language, Semitic, 36 note; Greek, 87 *a*; use at Rome, 525-527; Latin a common language for western scholars, 644 *c*; divergence between written and spoken in Teutonic kingdoms, 627 *b*; Romance languages, 627 note.

References are to sections.

- Lā-ōc'ō-ōn, statue of, 238.
 Latin Church, see Church.
 Latin civilization, see Roman.
 Latin colonies, 339, 375, 412, 435.
 Latin Right, the, 339, 412; attempt to confer on all Italians, 430.
 Latins, 260, 326; Rome a "mark" of, 265; tribes of, 270; wars and alliances with Rome, 272, 326, 331; rights at Rome, 339, 412.
 Latin War of 338 B.C., 331.
 Lā'ti-um, 260, 264, 266, 270, 271, 329, 336.
 Laws, Chaldean, 44, 46 b; of Lycurgus, 96, 97; of Draco, 108 and note; of Solon, 110-114; at Rome, Valerian, 295 b; unwritten, 303; as to debt, 304; Publilian, 311; Horatian, 311 note; Twelve Tables, 313-318; Valerio-Horatian, 317 note; Hortensian, 346 c; Licinian, 322; of the Gracchi, 422-425, 428; of Caesar, 464. See Roman Law, Teutonic Law.
 Lay'ard, 37.
 Leaders of the People in Athens, 173, 180.
 Lebanon Mountains, 49.
 Legion, the, described, 353; compared with phalanx, 353, 382. See Army.
 Lem'nos, 207.
 Leo, Pope, 601.
 Leo III, Pope, crowns Charlemagne, 675.
 Leo the Isaurian, Emperor, 655, 660, 662.
 Le-ōch'a-rēs, Greek sculptor, 220.
 Le-ōn'i-das, 146, 516.
 Le-o-t'ych'i-dēs, king of Sparta, 155 note.
 Lep'i-dus, 469, 472.
 Lēs'bos, 129 a, 160.
 Leuctra, battle of, 210, 211.
 Libations, in Greek worship, 78.
 Libraries, at Nineveh, 37; Chaldean, 38; in Graeco-Oriental world, 239; at Alexandria, 239.
 Libyan desert, 6.
 Libyans, invade Egypt, 21 d; subjects of Carthage, 361, 366.
 Li-c'n'i-an Ro-gā'tions, 322, 323, 404 note.
 Li-c'n'i-us, Emperor, 558, 561.
 Licinius Stolo, tribune, 322, 323.
 Ligurians, 261.
 Literature, Egyptian, 16; Chaldean, 38; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 b; early Greek Epic Age, 87 a (see Homer); in Athens of Peisistratus, 116; Lyric Age, 128, 129; drama, 129 b, 183; the age of Pericles, 183-186; Alexandrian Age, 236; Greek influence on Roman, 407; Roman before Age of Cicero, 523; in Age of Cicero, 524; Augustan Age, 475, 525; first three centuries A.D., 516, 526-527, 547; decline in fourth century, 579; attitude of early Christians toward pagan, 580; German, 583.
 Livius An-dro-n'i'cus, 523.
 Livy, 267, 292, 301 note, 307, 351, 383, 525.
 Locris, 165, 242.
 Loire (lwär), 656.
 Lombards, 582; in Italy, 614-615; and the popes, 662, 663; conquered by Pippin, 665; by Charlemagne, 671.
 Lombardy, 615.
 Long Walls of Athens, 153 note, 165, 182, 193; demolished, 200; rebuilt, 206.
 Long Walls of Constantinople, 611.
 Lot, use of, in elections, 112 note, 114 and note, 173.
 Louvre (lōōvr), 237.
 Lucan, 526.
 Lu-cā'ni-ans, 260.
 Lū'cer-ēs, 271, 273.
 Lū'ci-an, 527.
 Lu-crē'ti-us, 524.
 Lyc'i-an Confederacy, 244 note.
 Ly-cur'gus, 96, 99 note, 101, 249.
 Lyd'i-a, 59 a, 60, 62, 64, 132, 134, 135.
 Ly-dī'a-das, 247, 248, 249 note.
 Lyric Age in Greek poetry, 128, 129.
 Ly-sān'der, 197, 200, 204.

References are to sections.

- Mac-e-dō'ni-a**, 91 note, 136, 169; under Theban influence, 211; conquest of Greece, 213-217; people and king, 213; growth under Philip II, 214; army, 215; Chaeronea and Congress of Corinth, 216; result of Macedonian conquest, 217; under Alexander, 219 ff. (see Alexander); one of the great powers of the Graeco-Oriental world, 228; Gallic invasion, 229; condition at 220 B.C., 230; history in outline to the Roman conquest, 233; supremacy in Greece after Alexander, 241, 243; losses through the Achaean League, 245, 247, 248; supremacy restored, 250, 251; one of five Great Powers in third century B.C., 357, 367; aids Hannibal, 377; jealous of Rome, 391; First Macedonian War, 391; Second, 392; a dependent ally of Rome, 392; Third Macedonian War, Macedonia a Roman Province, 396, 399; Mithridates in, 399; diocese of, 553.
- Macedonian army**, 215, 223.
- Macedonian Wars**, first, 391; second, 392; third, 396.
- Ma-crī'nus**, 494.
- Maē-cē'nas**, 475 note, 521 note.
- Māē'li-us, Spu'ri-us**, 312 note, 424.
- Magic**, Chaldean, 39; Etruscan, 260 note.
- Magism**, 61.
- Magna Graecia**, 91, 130, 133 *a*, 150; in fifth and fourth centuries, 218; and Rome, 230, 257 note, 260, 333, 352; influence on Roman literature, 523.
- Mag-nē'si-a**, battle of, 231, 393, 398 note, 399.
- Mam er-tines**, 360.
- Mān'e-tho**, 4.
- Man-i-chāē'ans**, 566 note.
- Mān'li-us**, consul in Latin war, 351.
- Mān'li-us**, defender of the Capitol, 312 note, 424.
- Man-ti-nē'a**, broken up into villages by Sparta, 208; restored, 211; battle of, 210 note, 211.
- Mār'a-thon**, battle of, 138, 140, 141, 142; importance, 139, 152.
- Mar-cel'lus**, 379, 382 note.
- March of the Ten Thousand**, the, 185, 205.
- Mar-co-mān'ni**, 545 note.
- Mar-dō'ni-us**, 137, 138, 142, 150, 151.
- Mar'grāves**, 681 *a*.
- Mā'ri-us**, 403, 431, 456, 582, 588; in Jugurthine War, 433; saves Rome from Cimbri and Teutones, 434, 435; retirement, 436; civil war, 439; proscriptions, 440; death, 440; trophies restored by Caesar, 451.
- Marseilles (mar-sāl')**, 91.
- Martial**, 526.
- Martin**, Saint, 579 *b*.
- Mas-sī'i-a**, 91, 386, 519.
- Mas-si-nīs'sa**, 387, 388, 438.
- Mau-ri-tā'ni-a**, 657 note.
- Mayfield**, 643 *c*, 648, 681 *e*.
- Mayor of the Palace**, 648.
- Max-īm'i-an**, 550, 558.
- Mēc'ca**, 652, 653.
- Mēdes**, 139 note; capture Nineveh, 34, 59 *b*; in Plateau of Iran, 59 *b*, religion of, 161.
- Mē'di-a**, 34, 35, 60, 132, 228, 471.
- Medicine**, Chaldean, 39; Greek, 240; Roman, 527.
- Me-di-ē'val history**, 635 note.
- Med-i-ter-rā'ne-an Sea**, 3, 6, 9, 33, 34, 133 *a*, 166, 234; Phoenician navigators in, 49; Phoenician colonies on coast of, 50; importance to European civilization, 65, 69 *d* and note; Greek colonies, 70, 74, 91, 131 *b*; Alexander on the coast of the, 221 *b*; won by Rome, 357-390; Egypt granary of, 392; duty of Rome to police, 402; trade ruined by pirates, 450; Pompey in, 450; under Empire, 513; Gothic fleets in, 545; Vandals in, 595.
- Meg-a-lōp'o-lis**, 211, 247, 251.
- Mēg'a-ra**, captures Salamis from Athenians, 109; poets of, 129 *a*, 129 *b*; in Persian War, 147; Athenian alliance, 164 and note; treachery of, 166; commercial interests, 192; enters Achaean League, 247.
- Mēg'a-ris**, 165.
- Mē'li-ans**, 197 note.

References are to sections.

- Mēm'phis, 10, 15.
 Me-nān'der, 236, 523.
 Men-e-lā'us, 76.
 Mē'nēs, king of Egypt, 10.
 Mercenaries, War of the, 366, 370.
 Me-ro-vīn'gi-ans, name explained, 620; Empire of, 620.
 Mē'sheck, 49.
 Mes-o-po-tā'mi-a, 31, 32 c, 509.
 Mes-sā'na, 360.
 Mes-sē'nō, 211.
 Mes-sē'ni-a, 96, 162, 192, 211.
 Met-a-mōr'pho-ses, of Ovid, 525.
 Me-tau'rus, battle of the, 382.
 Mē'tics, treatment of, at Athens, 120, 122, 153, 170, 171, 179, 204.
 Met'o-pē, 127, 182.
 Metropolis, of a Greek colony, 92.
 Met-ro-pōl'i-tan, see Archbishops.
 Middle Ages, the, 635 note.
 Mi-lān', 550; Edict of, 561.
 Mi-lē'tus, 71 b, 90, 91, 95, 127, 130, 155 note, 191 b.
 Mil-ti'a-dēs, 138, 140, 158, 180, 516.
 Mil'vi-an Bridge, battle of the, 558, 561.
 Mīs'si Do-mīn'i-ci, 681 b.
 Mith-ri-dā'tēs the Great, 439, 441, 450.
 Mithridatic Wars, the, 450 note.
 Mnēs'i-clēs, 182.
 Modern history, definition of, 1.
 Mōē'si-a, 507.
 Mo-hām'med, 651, 652, 653, 654.
 Mo-hām'me-dān-ism, 651, 652, 653; conquests of, 654; attacks on Europe, repulsed, 655; conquest of Spain, 656; repulse at Tours, 656; later Mohammedanism, 657.
Monarchy, definition of, 68 a note; origin, 80; Greek, 82; gives way in Greece to oligarchy, 93, 131 c; in early Rome, 282; under the Empire, see Roman Empire; among Teutonic barbarians, 586; development in Teutonic states, 643 a.
 Mo-nās'ti-cism, origin, 635, 636, 637; monastic vows, 637; industry of monks, 637; and learning, 637; "regular" clergy, 638.
Money, none in ancient Egypt, 12; iron, in Sparta, 99; abundance in Greece after Alexander, 225 a; Roman, copper to 264 B.C., 350; lack in later Roman Empire, 569; lack in Empire of Charlemagne, 680.
 Moors, 11 note, 418, 545, 657.
Morality, Egyptian, 20, 22-24; Chaldean and Assyrian, 45; Persian, 61, 152; Athenian, 188, 189; Roman, 351, 352; decline due to wars and economic changes, 404-411; in Empire, 528-537; of early Christianity, 538-543; of fourth century, 569 note.
 Moses, 53, 652.
 Mō'sul, 657.
 Mount Athos, 137, 138, 142.
 "Mountain," the, party in Athens, 115, 119 b, 121.
 Mūn'da, battle of, 461.
 Municipal government, under the Empire, 500.
 Mu-ni-cip'i-a, Roman, 336 b, 412, 438, 514, 553, 572.
 Museum (mū-sē'um), Plato's, at Athens, 239; Ptolemy's, at Alexandria, 239.
 Mÿc'a-lē, battle of, 156.
 My-cē'nae, 76, 82, 89; Gate of Lions at, 73 a; bronze pitcher from, 73 b; excavations at, 73 b; bronze dagger from, 73 b.
 Mycenae Culture, 74-76.
 Myths, Greek, 87 c and note, 188 note; Roman, borrowed, 278.
 Myt-i-lē'nō, 197 note.
 Nāē'vi-us, 523.
 Naples, Bay of, 479, 484, 604.
 Narbonne (nār-bōn'), 519.
 Nār'sēs, 612, 614.
 Nature worship, Egyptian, 18; Chaldean, 45; Greek, 87 c; Roman, 278.
 Nau-pāc'tus, 160.
 Nau-sic'a-a, 76 note.
 Navy, growth of Athenian, 141, 146, 153, 157-160, 165, 171, 196; Carthaginian, 358, 361; value of sea-power in Punic Wars, 632; Roman, 361, 362 note, 377.

References are to sections.

- Năx'os, 159-160.
 Ne-ăp'o-lis, 160.
 Ne-ăr'ehus, 225 b.
 Neb-u-ehad-něz'zar, 35, 55; prayer of, 48.
 Nē'co, king of Egypt, 21 e, 232.
 Negroes, in Egypt, 11 note.
 Nē'pos, 524.
 Nero, 482, 530, 540, 542.
 Něr'va, 486.
 Nē'tad, battle of, 601.
 Neus'tri-a, 647, 649, 650.
 Ni-cāē'a, Council of, 566.
 Ni-cēne' Creed, the, 566.
 Nīc'i-as, 197, 198.
 Nic-o-mē'di-a, 550.
 Nile, 4, 30, 31, 32, 37, 221 b, 224, 232; early home of civilization, 5, 59, 65; valley of, the real Egypt, 8; importance to Egypt, 9, 10, 17.
 Nineveh, 32 c, 34, 37, 62, 221 c; palace of, described, 41; commerce of, 43.
 Nobles, Roman, 345, 402, 405; later European, 587, 643 b. See Aristocracy.
 Norsemen, 582.
 Nor-thūm'bri-a, 584, 597.
 Nū'ma, 268, 473 note.
 Nu-mer-i-ā'nus, 494.
 Nu-mīd'i-a, 387, 433, 461.
 Oc-tā'vi-us, tribune, deposed by Gracchus, 423.
 Octavius Caesar, see Augustus.
 O-dē'um, 182.
 O-do-vā'ker, 604, 606.
 O-dys'seus, 72, 76, 77, 84, 188.
 Od'ys-sey, 72, 73 a, 74 note, 76 and note, 77, 128, 188 and note.
 Oe-nō'phy-ta, battle of, 165.
 Oligarchy, definition of, 68 a note; origin, in Greece, 82, 83, 93; overthrown by tyrants, 94, 95; in Athens, 103-105; overthrow in Athens, 106-114, 118, 131 c, 140; struggle with democracy in Greece, 133 b; set up by Sparta in subject cities, 202; in Thebes, 209, 211; in Rome, 301, 345; misgovernment by, 402, 403, 411, 420; overthrow, 471.
 O-lŷm'pi-a, 71 b, 87 c, 182 note.
 Olympiad, 87 c.
 Olympias, 219.
 Olympic games, 87 c, 129 a note.
 Olympus, 87 c, 144, 182 note.
 O-lŷn'thi-ac Confederacy, 242 note.
 Olynthus, 91.
 Ordeal, Trial by, 641.
 O-rēs'tēs, 604.
 Oriental history, introductory to Greek history, 3; outline, 4-67; summary of, 65-67; contrasted with European, 68-69, 71 e.
 Or'i-gen, 547 note.
 O-rī'gi-nēs, of Cato, 523.
 Os'ti-a, 272.
 Ostracism, 126; of oligarchic leaders at Athens, 140; of Aristides, 141, 147; of Cimon, 163; of Themistocles, 180.
 Os'tro-goths, see Goths.
 Otho, 483.
 Ovid, 525.
 Oxus River, 222.
 O-zy-măn'di-us, 29.
 Pāē'tus, 530.
 Pagans, 567 note.
 Painting, Egyptian, 15; Greek, 127, 237.
 Pal'a-tine Mount, the, 268, 271.
 Palestine, 53.
 Pallas Athene, see Athene.
 Pal-mŷ'ra, 495 note, 513.
 Pam-phŷl'i-a, 158.
 Pan-Hellenic Confederation, proposed by Athens, 154.
 Pan-nō'ni-a, 507.
 Pan'the-on, 520, 521.
 Pā'pa-cy, claim of Roman bishops to headship, 658; doctrine of Petrine succession, 658; advantages of Rome, 659; freed from rivals in the East, 660; growth into temporal power, 661; rebellion against Empire, 662; and Lombards, 663; alliance with the Franks, 663.
 Papal States, the, 666 and note.
 Pa-pŷn'i-an, 495.
 Papyrus, 4 note, 12, 15, 16; of Ptah-hotep, 24; used by Chaldeans, 37, 38.
 Pā'ros, 129 a, 140.

References are to sections.

- Par-rh̄/ā'si-us, 237.
 Par'the-non, 128, 182, 183 note, 190 note.
 Par'thi-ans, 231, 441, 455, 471, 506; humbled by Trajan, 487; in third century, 545.
 "Partnership Emperors," 550, 559, 563.
 Patriarch, in organization of church, 565.
 Patriarchs, Hebrew, 52, 58.
 Pā-tri'cians, Roman, 268, 273; organization, 275-277; struggle with plebeians, 300-325.
 Paul, 398 note.
 Pau-sā'ni-as, historian, 527.
 Pau-sā'ni-as, king of Sparta, 155 note, 156.
 Peace of Antalcidas, 207.
 Peace of Callias, 167.
 Peasantry, Egyptian, 12, 27; Chaldean, 43; Assyrian, 43; Roman, 570, 575.
 Pediments, in Greek architecture, 127, 182.
 Pei-rāē'us, 153, 157 note, 158, 165, 173, 182, 193, 200, 204, 206, 208, 248.
 Pel-sis-trāt'i-dae, 117, 291.
 Pel-sis'tra-tus, 116, 117, 120, 127, 129 b, 134 note, 183.
 Pe-lōp'i-das, 209 and note, 211.
 Pel-o-pon-nē'si-an League, 133 b, 144, 146, 147, 149, 154, 156, 166, 192, 193, 206, 207.
 Peloponnesian War, 167, 192-200, 206; causes, 192; resources and plans, 193; plague in Athens, 194; twenty-seven years of war, 195; Athenian naval supremacy, 195, 196; new leaders, 197; Athenian disaster in Sicily, 198; rule of the Four Hundred in Athens, 199; Sparta betrays Asiatic Greeks to Persia, 200; Aegospotami, 200; surrender of Athens, 200.
 Pel-o-pon-nē'sus, 85, 86, 89, 96, 102, 133 b, 144, 164, 165, 211, 248, 249, 250, 590.
 Pe-nā'tēs, 78.
 Pen-tēl'i-cus, 138.
 Per'ga-mos, 235.
 Pergamum, 234, 392, 393, 398.
 Per-i-ān'der, tyrant of Corinth, 95, 129 a.
 Periclēs, 162, 163, 167, 170, 183, 211; builds up a land empire for Athens, 164, 165; constitution of empire, 172-180, 426; portrait bust, 180; and intellectual and artistic Athens, 181-191; funeral oration of, 190; and Peloponnesian War, 193, 194; death, 197.
 Per-i-ōē'ci, 98, 192, 210, 249.
 Persecution, Religious, of Christians, by Nero, 482, 540; by Domitian, 485; by Trajan, 487, 540, 541; by Aurelius, 490, 540, 541; by Severus, 495; by Decius, 495; summary of early, 540; causes, 541; by Diocletian, 549, 567; by the church, 565, 567.
 Per-sēph'o-nē, head on coin, 358.
 Per-sēp'o-lis, 221 c.
 Per'seus, 396, 397.
 Persia, 21 c, 21 f, 35, 50, 56, 141; history of, 59-64; geography, 59; rise and extent of empire, 60; religion, morals, and society, 61; champions civilization against Scythians, 62, 65; post roads, 64; war with Greece, 132-152; condition at time of attack, 132; conquers Lydia, 134; conquers Ionia, 135; first two attacks on Greece, 136-139; revolt of Egypt, 140; third attack on Greece, 142-152; preparation, 142; significance of defeat, 152; expelled from Aegean, 154-159; revolt of Egypt, 165, 166; peace of Callias, 167, 169; aids Sparta against Athens, 198-200, 201; war with Greece renewed, 205, 206; revolt of Cyrus the Younger, 205; the "Ten Thousand," 205; war with Sparta, 205, 206; allied with Thebes and Athens, 206; Peace of Antalcidas, 207; attacked by Alexander, 220, 221; fall of the empire, 221; new kingdom, third century, 545, 548, 550, 562; in fifth and sixth centuries, 610, 612; conquered by Mohammedans, 651, 654.

References are to sections.

- Persian Gulf, 31, 32 *a*, 49.
 Persian Wars, 132-152, 171, 175, 180, 243; two antagonists, 132-133; beginnings of, 134-135; conquest of Ionia, 135; revolt of Ionia and Athenian aid, 135; first two attacks on Greece, 136-139; relation of Ionian revolt to Persian attack, 136; first expedition, Mount Athos, 137; second expedition, Marathon, 138; from Marathon to Thermopylae in Athens, 140-141; the third attack, 142-152; Persian preparation, 142; Greek preparation, 143; Greek lines of defense and plan of campaign, 144; loss of Thessaly, 145; Thermopylae, loss of central Greece, 146; strategy of Themistocles, 147; battle of Salamis, 148; temptation of Athens, 150; Plataea, 151; meaning of Greek victory, 152; league of Plataea, 154; war to free Ionia, 154-159; peace of Callias, 167; war revived in Asia, 205-207; peace of Antalcidas, 207.
 Per'ti-nax, 494, 495.
 Phæd'rus, 189 *e*.
 Phalanx, Theban, 210; Macedonian, 215 and note; compared with Roman legion, 353; conquered by legion, 392.
 Pha-lē'rum, 153.
 Phā'raohs, of Egypt, 12.
 Phar-nā'ces, 461.
 Phar-sā'lus, battle of, 460, 462, 472.
 Phēi'don, king of Argos, 95 note.
 Phīd'i-as, 182 and note, 191 *b*.
 Philip II, king of Macedonia, 211, 213; portrait, 213; aims and methods, 214; army, 215; invades Greece, 216; force in history, 217; assassinated, 219, 220.
 Philip V, 233, 377, 391, 392.
 Phi-lip'pi, battle of, 471, 472.
 Phi-lip'pics, of Demosthenes, 214.
 Phi-lip'pus, 494.
 Phi-lis'tines, 7.
 Phil-o-pōē'men, 251.
 Philosophy, Greek, 130, 186, 235, 238; of Marcus Aurelius, 490, 527, 536; of Epictetus, 537; in third century, 547.
 Phō'cis, 133 *b*, 165, 242.
 Phoe-ni'cians, 7, 21 *e*, 49-51, 133 *a*, 141, 206; language, 36 note; Assyria and commerce of, 43; leaders of navigation, 49; importance of, 50, 65, 74; alphabet, 50; political and social conditions, 51; Alexander, 221 *b*; influence on Etruscans, 260.
 Phor'mi-o, 196 note, 197.
 Phrā'try, the Greek, 79; compared with Roman curia, 276.
 Phryg'i-a, 64, 227, 398 note.
 Physical geography as a factor in historical development, 5, 6, 7, 9, 31, 32, 49, 52, 69-71, 86, 255-258, 262-266.
 Picts, 510.
 Pillars of Hercules, 49 and note.
 Pīn'dar, 129 *a* and note, 220.
 Pip'pin of Hēr'is-tal, 649.
 Pippin the Short, becomes king of Franks, 664; establishes temporal power of the pope, 665.
 Pirates, 171, 221 *b*; 264, 402; Phoenician, 49; Greek, 77; Illyrian, 367, 391; Cilician, 402, 450.
 Plague, at Athens, 194; in Europe under Empire, 490, 546.
 "Plain," the, party in Athens, 115, 119 *b*.
 Pla-tāē'a, aids Athens at Marathon, 138; battle of, 151, 152, 153, 156, 163; League of, 154, 161; and Athens, 160, 166; in Peloponnesian War, 197 note.
 Plato, 186, 188, 189 *c*, 189 *d*, 189 *e*, 239, 538, 580.
 Plau'tus, 523.
 Ple-bē'ians, Roman, 268, 274; outside patrician state, 277; secure some political rights, 285-289; struggle with patricians, 300-325.
 Plebiscite (pleb'i-sīt), 311.
 Pliny the Elder, 526.
 Pliny the Younger, 501, 527, 529, 541 *b*; and Christians, 540.
 Plo-tī'nus, 547.
 Plutarch, 99 and note, 218 note, 219 note, 246 note, 350, 425, 527, 530, 532.

References are to sections.

- Pnyx**, 174, 182.
Po, valley of the, 255, 260, 368, 373, 435, 615.
Pōl'e-march, 103, 125, 293 note.
Poles, 598 note.
Political, term explained, 105 note.
Pōl'li-o, 533.
Po-lyb'i-us, 228, 355 note, 358, 362, 363 note, 390, 397 note, 523.
Pom-pē'ii, 484, 500.
Pompey the Great, 403, 447-453, 455, 456, 459-461.
Pōn'ti-fex Māx'i-mus, 463, 497.
Pontiffs, Roman, 280, 324.
Pōn'ti-us, the Samnite, 332, 351, 442.
Pontius Pilate, 540.
Pontus, 228, 439, 441, 450, 471; diocese, 553.
Pope, origin of name, 659 *d* note.
Pōr'phyr-y, 547.
Pōr'se-na, 292 note.
Portico, in Greek architecture, 181, 182.
Po-sei'don, 88.
Post roads, Persian, 64. See Roman roads.
Præ'fect-ūre, a government in Italy, 336, 340, 369.
Præ-nēs'te, 266, 443.
Præ'tor, 293 note, 324 note, 345, 347, 369, 433 note.
Prae-tō'ri-an Guards, 473 note, 479, 481, 493, 495, 499, 548 *b*.
Prax-it'e-lēs, 182 note; the Hermes of, 182.
Prehistoric life, 1; in Greece, 72-84.
Priesthood, in Egypt, 12, 17; of Hebrews, 56; in early Greece, 78, 80; of city in Greece, 93; Roman, 280; Christian priests, 565 note; pagan German, 586.
Prin'ceps, title Augustus, 473.
Prin'ci-pāte, 496. See Roman Empire.
Privy Council, of Hadrian, 488, 497 note; of Diocletian, 555.
Prō'cōn-sul, office, 356; power, 463, 497.
Prophets, Hebrew, 54, 58.
Prop-y-lāē'a, of the Athenian Acropolis, 182.
Proscriptions, of Marius, 440; of Sulla, 443; of second triumvirate, 470.
Pro-tēc'tō-rāte, defined, 392 note; Roman attempt at, in East, 391-394; protectorates transformed into provinces, 395-398.
Provence (prō-vāns'), 454 note.
Province, the, 454 note.
Provinces, Roman, first, 369; Spanish, 385; of Africa, 390; in East, 395-398; evils of senatorial rule in, 414-417; need of Empire for, 457; Caesar's reforms for, 465; under Empire, 502, 548; subdivided by Diocletian, 550, 551, 553.
Psam-mēt'i-chus, king of Egypt, 21 *e*.
Ptāh'ho-tep, Egyptian noble, precepts of, 24.
Ptolemy I, of Egypt, 232, 239.
Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), 21 *f*, 232, 239.
Ptolemy III, 228 note, 232.
Ptolemy, astronomer, 527.
Pūb-ll'i-an Law, 311.
Pul, see Tiglath-Pileser II.
Punic Wars, 230, 231, 233, 357 ff.; issue at stake, 359; First, 360-365; Second, 370-384; Third, 387-390.
Punjab, the, 60 note, 222, 231.
Pu-pi-ē'nus, 494.
Pŷd'na, battle of, 396, 399.
Pŷramids, Egyptian, 15.
Pyrenees, crossed by Hannibal, 373.
Pŷr'rhus, 333, 358, 410; coin of, 333.
Py-thāg'o-ras, 130.
Pyth-a-go-rē'ans, 130.
Quād-rŷv'i-um, the, 518.
Quāēs'tor, 295 *a*, 324, 347.
Quīn-tll'i-an, 526.
Quīr'i-nal, 271.
Rād'o-gast, 591, 603.
Ra-mē'sēs II, 21 *d*, 27; colossi of, 25.
Rām'nēs, the, 271, 273.
Ravenna, 591, 602, 607, 614; Exarchate of, 615.
Red Sea, 6, 31, 52, 232, 513.
Re-gŷl'lus, 292 note.

References are to sections.

Rĕg'ū-lus, 363.

Relief sculpture, definition of, 12 note, 15; specimens of Egyptian, 10, 12, 14, 20; Assyrian, 40, 43; Athenian, 182 and note; Roman, 487.

Religion, Egyptian, 18, 19, 25; Chaldean, 45, 46 *a*, 48; Assyrian, 45, 47 *a*; Phoenician, 51; Hebrew, 57, 58; Persian, 61; Oriental, 65, 66; in early Greece, 78, 87 *c*, 188; in Athens, 188, 238; Roman, 260, 278-281; political value, 281, 476; Carthaginian, 358; under Roman Empire, 529; see Christianity; German, 584, 585.

Representative government, not a feature even of the Greek federations, 244; none in Rome, 336 *a*, 458; assemblies in provinces of Empire, 502; to grow out of Teutonic assemblies, 645 *d*.

Rex Sa-crō'rum, 292.

Rhāē'ti-a, 507.

Rhē'gi-um, 100.

Rhīne, the, 454, 485, 490, 495, 503, 506, 545, 548, 582, 593, 597.

Rhōdes, 206, 228, 234, 235, 392, 393, 397, 398.

Rhōne, the, 373.

Rik'i-mer, 604.

Roland, Song of, 671 note.

Roman Assembly, 282, 283; comitia curiata, 276, 277 note, 283; formal, 346; centuriate, 287, 288; controlled by consuls, 293; elections in, 295, 296; plebeians in, 302; control of senate, 321; loses influence, 346; plebeian, 309-312, 318 note; by tribes, 310, 337, 339, 343, 346, 347, 360, 423, 424, 430; passes away under Empire, 496, 515.

Roman auxiliaries, 353.

Roman camp, 354.

Romance languages, 627 note.

Roman colonies, 336 *a*.

Roman emperors, in person of Augustus, 473, 496; power of, 497; good government by bad emperors, 512; attitude toward early church, 542; "barrack emperors," 493-495;

"partnership emperors," 550-551; Oriental character after Diocletian, 556; summary of reigns, 478-495, 549, 558-559, 562-563, 603-604, 612; worship of, 476, 540, 541 *a*.

Roman Empire, conditions leading to, see Rome; despotism a medicine for, 458; civil war, Caesar and Pompey, 459-461; work of Caesar, 462-467; form of Caesar's government, 463; Julius to Octavius, 468-472; (see) Augustus, 473-476; empire established, 473; in first three centuries, 477 ff.; story of, 477-495; two centuries of order, 478-492; Julian Caesars, 478-482; Flavian, 483-485; Antonines, 486-491; general character, 492; "barrack emperors," 493-495; constitution of early empire, 496-502; republican forms, 496; power of emperor, 497; gradual growth, 498; succession, 499; local administration, 500-502; imperial defense, 503 ff.; army (which see), 503-505; frontiers, 506-510; society, first two centuries, 511 ff.; peace and prosperity, 511-514; forms of industry, 514; world becomes Roman, 515-517; citizenship extended, 515; social unity, 516, 517; education, 518, 519; universities, 518; architecture, 520-522; literature, 523-527; morals, 528-537; Christianity, 538-543; decay of empire in third century, 544-547; renewal of barbarian attacks, 545; decline of population, 546; decay in literature, 547; Diocletian's reorganization, 548-557; Constantine and victory of Christianity, 558-561; Constantine to Theodosius, 562-564; fourth century, 565-581; church in, 565-568; society, 569-578; growing exhaustion, 569; classes, 570-576; crushing taxation, 577; infusion of barbarians, 578; literature and science, 579-581; and Franks in Gaul, 596; in fifth and sixth centuries, 602-615; story, 602-604; East Goths, kingdom in Italy,

References are to sections.

- 604-609; idea survives in West, 634; contributions of, 644; final division into East and West, 564. See Roman Empire in the East, and Roman Empire in the West.
- Roman Empire in the East**, final separation from the West, 564; West Goths in, 589-590; nominal rule over Italy under Zeno, 604; East Goths in, 605; Slavs in, 611; Orientalized, 610; revival under Justinian, 612; reconquests of Africa and Italy, 612; Justinian Code, 613; loss of Italy, except the South and the exarchate, 614, 615; decay and new revival in eighth century, repulse of Mohammedans by Constantine IV and by Leo III, 655; loss of Asiatic provinces to Saracens, 655; loss of Africa, 654, 655; iconoclastic agitation in, 660; attempts to maintain control over Rome, 661, 662; failure, 662; relation to the Empire of Charlemagne, 676, 677, 679.
- Roman Empire in the West**, separation from the East, 564; crumbles away — causes, 569; (see Germans); idea survives in Dark Ages, 634; contributions to Europe, 644; revival by Charlemagne, 674-678. See Empire of Charlemagne.
- Roman family**, 275, 278, 312 note.
- Roman governor**, of province, 415, 416; under Empire, 465, 501, 548 *a*, 552, 554.
- Roman Law**, early, 253, 254, 266 note; Twelve Tables, 315; codification begun by Caesar, 464; sources of imperial, 497 note; gentler spirit in first and second centuries, 533, 535; further development by great jurists in third century, 495, 547; Justinian's codification, 613; importance, 613 note; in church codes, 632.
- Roman legion**, see Army and Legion.
- Roman names**, 383 and note.
- Romano-Teutonic Europe**, 582-685.
- Roman roads**, 344, 386, 475, 487, 505, 513; in Britain, 485, 510, 621.
- Roman Senate**, 268, 284, 293, 294, 298, 302, 309, 321, 323, 346, 376; the guiding power, 348; decay, 411; and the Gracchi, 423, 424, 425, 430, 431; Sulla restores rule to, 444; Augustus and, 473; Domitian and, 485; the Antonines and, 486; decline after Diocletian, 556.
- Roman triumph**, 351 and note.
- Rome** (mentioned in Greek history), 3, 18, 21 *c*, 169, 218, 225 *a*; and Egypt, 21 *f*; and Judea, 56; decemvirs, 108 note; sacked by Gauls, 229; and Graeco-Oriental world, 230-234, 251.
- Rome** (history), place in history, 252-254; geography, 255-258, 262-266; Etruscan influence, 260, 406; legendary history, 267-269; conclusions as to regal, 270-299; growth, 270-272; classes, 273-277; plebeians make way into Assembly, 285; census of Servius, 286; Assembly of Centuries (which see), 287; plebeian gain, 289; life king replaced by consuls, 290-292; contributions of regal Rome to the Republic, 299; class struggles in early Republic, 300 ff.; position of classes, 301-306; steps in struggle, 307 ff.; tribunes, 307-309; rise of plebeian Assembly, 310-312; decemvirs and written law, 313-318; social fusion, 319; plebeians admitted to consulship, 320-325 (see Licinian Rogations); unification of Italy, 366 ff.; progress before 367 B.C., 326-327; sacked by Gauls, 327; advance to 266 B.C., 328 ff.; Latin War, 331; Samnite wars, 332; Pyrrhic, 333; Italy under Rome, 334 ff.; Roman state, extent, 334; rights of citizens, 335; classes of, 336; subjects, 338-344; policy toward subjects, 343; roads, 344; perfected Republican constitution, 345 ff.; political machinery, 346-348; democratic theory and aristocratic practice, 349; society, 350-352; influence from Magna Graecia, 352; army, 353-356; winning of the West, 357 ff.; First Punic War,

References are to sections.

- strength of parties, 361; becomes sea power, 363; wins Sicily, 365; between Punic Wars seizes Sardinia, 366; Adriatic a Roman sea, 367; conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, 368; provincial system begun, 369; Second Punic War, 370 ff.; Hannibal in Italy, 373; Cannae, 374; fidelity of Latins and Italians, 375; grandeur in disaster, 376, 378, 379; Hannibal at the gates, 380; invasion of Africa and victory, 383, 384; Rome in Spain, 385-386; Third Punic War, 387 ff.; seeks pretext, 387; destroys Carthage, wins Africa, 388-390; Rome in the East, 391 ff.; First Macedonian War, 391; Second, 392; Syrian War, 393; protectorates become provinces, 395-398; sole Great Power, 399; two halves of Roman world, 400; new strife of classes, 401 ff.; evils of period after Second Punic War, in Rome, 404-411; decay of yeomanry, 408, 409; decay of constitution, 410, 411; Rome and subjects, 413; Rome and provinces, 414-417; slavery, 418-419; Cato's attempt at reform, 420; the Gracchi, 421-430; work overthrown, 431; new character of Roman history, biographical, 432; Jugurthine War, 433; Marius saves from Cimbri, 434-435; disorders and Social War, 436, 437; Italy enters Roman state, 438; Marius and Sulla, 439; Marian massacres, 440; Sulla in East, 441; return, civil war, 442; Sullan massacres, 443; restores senatorial rule, 441; Pompey and Caesar, 446-455; Pompey's leadership, 447-452; expansion in East, 450; new leaders, 451; Catiline, 452; rise of Caesar, 453-454; expansion in West, 454; break with Pompey, 455; founding the Empire, 456-476. See Roman Empire.
- Rome, city under Empire, fire, 482, 540; "patriarchate," 565 note; sacked by West Goths, 591, 592; by Vandals, 595; by East Goths, 612.
- Röm'ū-lus, 18, 268.
- Romulus Au-gūs'tu-lus, 602, 604.
- Roncesvalles (röns-väl'), 671 note.
- Ro-sēt'ta stone, 4, 62 note.
- Roumania, 509.
- Rubicon, 459, 462, 467, 498.
- Runes, 583 note.
- Sā'bīnes, 260, 265, 268, 271, 272, 326.
- Sacred Mount, the, 307, 317.
- Sa-gūn'tum, 372.
- Sa-hā'ra, 9.
- Sā'is, 17.
- Sāl'a-mis, 193; Athenian war for, 109; battle of, 141, 147, 148, 150, 196; significance of, 152.
- Sāl'lust, 524.
- Sām'nītes, 260, 330, 331.
- Samnite Wars, 332, 442.
- Sām'ni-um, 332.
- Sā'mos, 130, 156, 160, 199.
- Samson, 53.
- Samuel, 53.
- San Vi-tā'le, Church of, 607.
- Sappho (sā'f'o), 129 a, 191 b.
- Saracens, 655; defined, 657 note.
- Sardinia, 74, 358, 366, 369, 370.
- Sār'dis, 64, 135, 207.
- Sārgon, the Elder, 33.
- Sār'gon II, 34, 55; palace of, 41.
- Sās-sān'i-dāē, the, 545.
- Satrap, Persian, 21 f, 63; in Asia Minor, 200, 205; Assyrian, 34, 63.
- Saxons, 582; heathen, 585, 621; in Britain, 597; slow advance, 621; conversion, 623; on continent in wars with Charlemagne, 670.
- Schliemann (shlē'män), discoveries of, 73; importance, 74.
- School of the Palace, the, 683.
- Schools, under Roman Empire, 519; early Christians and, 580; disappearance at coming of Teutons, 626; monastic schools, 626; Arabian, 637; Charlemagne's, 683.
- Schüch'härät, 74.
- Science, Egyptian, 17, 21 c; Chaldean, 39, 40; early Greek confounded with philosophy, 130; in the age of Pericles still bound up with philosophy, 186; Alexandrian Age, 239-

References are to sections.

- 240; Roman, 527, 547, 579; early Christians and, 580; decay, 581; Saracenic, 657.
- Scipio, Lucius**, 393 note.
- Scipio, P. Cornelius S. Aemilianus**, the Younger Africanus, 389, 390, 392, 393, 410, 420, 421.
- Scipio, Publius Cornelius, S. Africanus**, 378, 380, 383.
- Scribes**, in Egypt, 12; in Chaldea, 38.
- Sculpture**, Egyptian, 11, 15, 19; Chaldean, 41; Assyrian, 41; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 *b*; Greek, 127, 224; Athenian, 182, 187; in Graeco-Oriental world, 237. See Relief Sculpture.
- Scy'ros**, 207.
- Scyth'i-ans**, in Assyria, 34, 229; repulsed by Persians, 61, 62.
- Sea Power, Importance of**, in Punic wars, 362, 377.
- Se-gēs'ta**, 160.
- Se-jā'nus**, 479 note.
- Se-leu'ci-dae**, rulers of Syria of the house of Seleucus, 231.
- Se-leu'cus**, general of Alexander, and king of Syria, 231.
- Sēm'ites**, 36.
- Semitic language**, 36 and note, 51.
- Seneca**, 482, 526, 530, 533.
- Sen-nāch'e-rib**, 34, 35.
- Sēp'tu-a-gint**, 239.
- Serfs**, Roman, 572, 575, 576.
- Ser-tō'ri-us**, 440, 443, 448, 449.
- Ser'vi-a**, 507, 598 note.
- Ser'vi-us Tūl'i-us**, 268; wall of, 271; census, 285, 286; tribes of, 310 note.
- Se-vē'rus**, Sep-tim'i-us, 494, 495, 545.
- Shaft**, use in architecture, Doric, 127; Ionic, 127.
- "Shaking-off of Burdens,"** 111.
- "Shore,"** the, party in Athens, 115, 119 *b*, 121.
- Sicily**, part of Hellas, 70; Greek colonies in, 86 note, 91, 133 *a*, 160; poets of, 129 *a*; Carthaginian War in, 150, 169, 201; Athenian disaster in, 198; in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., 218; Carthage in, 358; Roman interest in, 333, 356; Roman, 365; government (first Roman province), 369; corn supply from, 408; Verres and, 416; slave wars in, 419, 434; Vandals in, 595.
- Sicyon** (sish'i-on), freed by Aratus, 245.
- Si'don**, 49, 51.
- Si-mōn'i-dēs**, 129 *a*.
- Slavery**, Egyptian, 12; Greek, 77; in Sparta, 86, 98; in Athens, 105, 111 *c*, 111 *d*, 170, 191 *a*; Roman, 334, 408, 410; extent, 418; slave risings, 419, 434; protection of slaves by Empire, 481, 489, 490, 514, 528, 533; one cause of failing population, 546; Christianity and, 567; and serfdom, 575.
- Slāvs**, 545, 598, 599, 611, 673.
- Society**, of Egypt, 11-13; of Assyria and Chaldea, 43; Persian, 61; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 *a*; early Greek, 72, 76-84; in Sparta, 97-99, 249; in Athens, 105, 106, 112-115, 120, 169-191; Greek, to 500 B.C., 127-130; of Macedonia, 213; in Graeco-Oriental world, 224, 225 *a*, 235-240; Roman, early, 350-352; after Second Punic War, 404; in early Empire, 511-543; demoralized, 546; in fourth century, 569-578; approach of caste system, 576; Teutonic, 583.
- Sōc'rā-tēs**, 183, 190, 191 *b*, 204, 238; philosophy of, 186, 188; death, 186; quoted, 189 *c*, 189 *e*.
- Sog-di-ā'na**, 222.
- Soissons** (swā-sōn'), battle of, 617.
- Solomon**, 54, 55, 63 note.
- Sō'lon**, and a priest of Saïs, 17; in Egypt, 21 *e* note; and overthrow of Eupatrids, 109-114; character and rise to notice, 109; constitution of, 110-114, 115, 119 *a*, 120, 126, 172, 173, 176, 204; and Peisistratus, 116; poet, 129 *a*.
- Sōph'ists**, 186 and note.
- Sōph'o-clēs**, 183; portrait statue, 183; quoted, 189 *b*.
- Sound-symbols**, Egyptian, 16 and note; used by Phoenicians, 50.

References are to sections.

- Spain**, Phoenicians in, 49, 50; faced by Italy, 257, 258; Carthaginians in, 370-372; in Second Punic War, 373, 376, 378, 382; becomes Roman, 383, 384; war for independence, 385; Romanization, 386; Cimbri and, 435; Sertorius in, 443, 448; Pompey in, 449; Caesar in, 452, 458, 460; citizenship to Spanish communities, 465, 515; schools in, 519; Franks in, 545; Gothic kingdom, 592; Vandals and, 593, 595, 603; Justinian and, 612; Saracenic conquest, 656; partly recovered by Charlemagne, 671.
- Sparta**, 71 *b*; leading Dorian city, 86, kings in, 93, 95 note; rise of, 96-99, 131 *d*; early Sparta, 96; need of reform, 96; growth, 96; political constitution, 97; classes, 98, 177; social institutions, 99, 191 *b*; contrast with Athens, 99, 102; helps Athens drive out the tyrants, 117, 118; at war with Argos, 133 *b* and note; recognized head of Greece, 133 *b*; refuses to aid Ionia, 134 and note, 135; Persian heralds, 138; excuse for absence from Marathon, 138; in Persian War, 143-151; leader, 143-149; refuses to aid Athens, 150, 151; protests against Athenian Walls, 153; head of proposed Plataean league, 154; loses prominence, 155; withdraws from defense of Asiatic Greeks, 156, 157; strife with Athens, 161-167; jealousy, 161; purpose to attack Athens, 161; asks aid from Athens, 162; open quarrel, 163; Thirty Years' Truce, 167; Peloponnesian War, 192-200; causes, 192; resources and plans, 193; new leaders, 197; buys Persian aid by betraying Asiatic Greeks, 198, 200; destroys Athenian Walls, 200; Spartan supremacy, rule of harmosts and decarchies, 202-210; decay at home, 202-204; wars and leagues to the peace of Antalcidas, 205-207; aid Cyrus against the Persian king, 205; Agesilaus invades Persian Empire, 205; Corinthian War, 206; loss of maritime empire, 206; Peace of Antalcidas, 207; from the betrayal of Hellas to Leuctra, 208-210; arrogant rule, 208; revolt of Thebes, 209; Leuctra, 210; citizens decreased to 1500, 210; war with Thebes, 211; humbled, 211; refuses to join Achaean League, 248; war with the league, 249, 259; socialistic reforms of Agis and Cleomenes, 249, 250; Macedonian conquest, 250; sacked by Goths, 545, 590.
- Spar'ta-cus**, 419, 449.
- Spartan Assembly**, 97.
- Spartan harmosts**, 202.
- Spartan senate**, 97.
- Sphinx**, the, 15.
- State**, definition of, 10 note.
- Stephen, Pope**, 665.
- Ste-sieh'o-rus**, 129 *a*.
- Stil'i-cho**, 590, 591, 603, 604.
- Stō'a**, definition, 180.
- Stō'i-cism**, 238, 490, 520.
- Strā'bo**, 525.
- Strāsburg**, battle of (Julian's), 562; (Clovis'), 617.
- Ström'bo-li**, 609.
- Succession, Wars of the**, 227, 357.
- Sue-tō'ni-us**, 527.
- Sül'la**, 403, 433, 437, 439; in the East, 441; civil war, 442; massacres, 443; restores senatorial rule, 444; character and place in history, 445.
- Sül-pic'i-us**, 433 note, 456.
- Susa** (sōō'sā), 64, 221.
- Sÿr'a-cuse**, 91, 133 *a*, 143, 197 note, 198, 218, 240, 326, 358, 360, 365, 377; sacked by Rome, 377 note, 384 note.
- Syria**, 5, 33, 38, 43, 59, 221 *b*; importance of, 7; Egypt in, 21 *a*, 21 *c*, 21 *d*, 32 *c* note, 54; prize of war, 32 *c*; in commerce, 49; Phoenicians and Hebrews, 49-58; Persia in, 60; character of civilization, 69 *d*; in Graeco-Oriental world, 228, 230, 232, 241; outline, 231; one of five Great Powers, 357; Antiochus' reign, 392, 393; war with Rome, 393; Roman protectorate, 398, 399; province, 450.

References are to sections.

- Tăc'i-tus, emperor, 494.
 Tacitus, historian, 479 note, 527, 529, 531, 540, 584, 586.
 Tăl'mud, the, 45 and note.
 Tăn'a-gra, battle of, 165.
 Ta-rěn'tum, 91, 333, 523.
 Tar-quín'i-us, Lucius T. Cōl-la-tī'-nus, 292.
 Tār'quin the First, 268, 285.
 Tarquin the Proud, 268, 271 note, 291, 292.
 Tār'shish, 49.
 Tār'tars, 222, 545, 598, 599.
 Tar'tēs'sus, 49.
 Taurus Mountains, 21 *d*.
 Taxation, Egyptian, 12, 27; Hebrew, 55; Greek, 123; Athenian, 171; Roman, early, 286, 304 *a* note, 310, 325 *b*; after Cannae, 376; in provinces, 414, 415, 417; Caesar and, 464; imperial, 575; clergy exempt, 561; in fourth century, 570, 571, 572, 575, 577; none regular in Empire of Charlemagne, 680.
 Tēm'pe, Vale of, 144-145.
 Temples, Egyptian, 12, 14, 15; Chaldean and Assyrian, 41; of Apollo at Delphi, 117; plan of Greek, 127, 182. See Parthenon, Wingless Victory, Tower-temples; Roman, of Janus, 473 note; many built by Augustus, 475; in honor of Augustus, 476.
 Ten Thousand Greeks, march of the, 185, 205.
 Tē'os, 129 *a*.
 Terence, 523, 524.
 Ter-păn'der, 129 *a*.
 Tēr-tūl'i-an, 547 note.
 Tēs'try, battle of, 647.
 Teu-to-berg, battle of, 478, 507.
 Teu-tō'nes, 434, 435, 582.
 Teutonic Assembly, 586; affected by conquests, 643 *c*.
 Teutonic contributions to Europe, 645.
 Teutonic kingship, 643 *a*.
 Teutonic Law, 594; codes of, 639; "personality," 640; methods of trial, 641; money payments, 642; "self-developing," 645 *c*.
 Teutons. See Germans.
 Thā'lēs, 21, 130.
 Thăp'sus, battle of, 461.
 Thā'sos, 161.
 Theaters, Greek, 182; of Dionysus at Athens, 184; Pericles' policy as to, 184.
 Thebes, in Egypt, 10, 21 *c*.
 Thēbes, in Greece, 138, 178; limited leadership in Boeotia, 101; invasion of Attica, 118; at war with Athens, 133 *b*; refuses to attend Congress at Corinth, 143; welcomes Xerxes, 147; in Peloponnesian War, 197 note, 200; jealous of Sparta, 208; war with Sparta, 209-211; Leuctra, 210; supremacy, 211-212; Epaminondas, 211; overthrow, 211, 212; Philip of Macedon, 216; destroyed by Alexander, 220.
 The-mīs'to-clēs, 141, 147, 149 *b*, 153, 157 note, 173, 180, 197.
 The-ōc'ri-tus, 236.
 The-ōd'o-ric, East Goth, 604 note, 605, 606; "the Civilizer," 607; "empire" of, 608.
 Theodoric, West Goth, 600.
 Thē-ō-dō'si-an Code, the, 613.
 Thē-ō-do'si-us I, 563, 567, 589.
 Theodosius II, 603, 613.
 The-ōc'ri-tus, 236.
 The-ōg'nīs, 129 *a*, 188 note.
 The-ōg'o-ny, 129 *b*.
 Theology, in third century, 547; fourth century, 566, 579. See Heresies.
 The-răm'e-nēs, 204.
 Ther-mōp'y-lae, 140, 143, 165, 248; battle of, 146, 147.
 Ther-sītēs, 84.
 Thē'seus, 80, 101.
 Thēs'pis, 116, 129 *b*, 183.
 Thessaly, 70, 71 *a*, 71 *e*, 133 *b*, 136, 144, 155 note, 164; taken by Persia, 145, 150; under Theban influence, 211.
 Thi-bēt', desert of, 60.
 Thirty Tyrants, the, at Athens, 204, 209; in Roman Empire, 495.
 Thirty Years' Truce, the, between Athens and Sparta, 167, 172, 192.
 Tāōr, 585.

References are to sections.

- "Thoughts" of Marcus Aurelius, the, 490, 527, 545 note; extracts from, 536.
- Thrace, 91 and note, 118, 136; Athenian colonies in, 169, 171, 197; and Macedon, 213; Antiochus and, 393; diocese, 553.
- Thrasylbulus (thras-i-bōō'lus), 204.
- Thucydides (thoo-cīd'i-dēz), 191 *b*; quoted, 98, 139, 153, 190; place as historian, 185; bust of, 185.
- Thu-rin'gi-a, 619, 649.
- Thutmosis (thōō-mō'sis) III, 21 *d*.
- Ti'ber, 169, 253, 260, 264, 265, 271, 424.
- Ti-bō'ri-us, 479, 496, 498, 507.
- Ti-cī'nus, battle of the, 373.
- Tig'lath-Pi-lē'ser I, 34, 54.
- Tiglath-Pileser II, 34.
- Tigris-Euphrates states, 30-48; geography, 31-32; political outline, 33-35; society and culture, 36-45; Alexander in, 221 *c*.
- Tigris River, 21 *c*, 59 *b*; importance, 31; geography, 32.
- Ti-mō'le-on, 218 note.
- Tīt'i-es, 271, 273.
- Tīt'us, 483, 484, 519, 521, 528 note.
- Tō'ga, Etruscan origin, 260.
- To-gār'mah, 49.
- Tō'tem-ism, Egyptian, 18.
- Tōt'i-la, 612.
- Tours (toōr), battle of, 579 *b*, 656.
- Tower-temples, 40, 41.
- Trā'jan, 487, 488, 501, 506, 509, 534, 541, 545; gladiatorial games of, 528 note; and Christianity, 540, 542.
- Tras-i-mē'ne, battle of Lake, 373, 420.
- Trē'bi-a, battle of the, 373.
- Trial by combat, 641.
- Tri-bal'la, 213.
- Tribes, in early Greek society, 78-81; reforms of Cleisthenes in Athens, 121, 124, 125; Roman, 268, 270; three patrician, 273; of Servius, 310 note; twenty-one tribes, 310 note; thirty-five tribes, 337; assembly by, see Roman Assembly; German, 586.
- Trib'ūnes, 308, 309-311, 317, 323, 347, 430, 444.
- Trib-ū-nīc'i-an power, the, 463, 497.
- Tributary state, definition of, 7 note; Phoenicia an example, 51.
- Tri'glyph, 127 *a*.
- Tri-ūm'vir-āte, "First," 453, 455, 469 note.
- Triumvirate, "Second," 469 note, 470.
- Trīv'i-um, the, 518.
- Tro'ad, the, 73 *a*, 221 *a*.
- Trō'jans, 87.
- Troy, siege of, 72, 143; excavations at, 73 *a*; Greek council before, 84.
- Tū'bal, 49.
- Tu-rā'ni-ans, 598.
- "Twilight of the Gods," 584.
- Tŷne, the, 488, 510.
- Tyrants, Greek, 94, 95, 131 *c*; set up by Macedonia, 241, 243, 245, 247; in Athens, 115-117; in Magna Graecia, 133 *a*, 218; in Ionia, 135; the Thirty, in Athens, 204; in early Rome, 268, 290, 291.
- Tyre, 49, 51; siege of, 221 *b*.
- Tyr-rhēn'i-an Sea, 366.
- Tyr-taē'us, 129 *a*.
- Tzar, 497 note.
- Ul'fil-as, 579 *b*, 583, 585.
- Ul'pi-an, 495, 530, 535, 547.
- Universities, origin, 239; in Alexandrian Age, 239; in Roman Empire, 518, 540.
- Ur, in Chaldea, 33, 46 *a*; home of Abraham, 52.
- U'ti-ca, founded by Phoenicians, 50; capital of Roman Africa, 390; Cato at, 461 note.
- Vā'lens, 563, 589.
- Va-len-tīn'i-an I, 563.
- Valentinian II, 563.
- Valentinian III, 603, 604.
- Va-lē'ri-an, 494, 542, 545.
- Valerian Law, the, 295 *b*.
- Valerio-Horatian Law, the, 317 note.
- Va-lē'ri-us, M., 307.
- Valerius, Pub-lic'o-la, 295 *b*.
- Vandals, 582, 592, 593, 595, 603, 628.
- Vāp'hi-o cups, the, 74.

References are to sections.

- Varro**, consul, 376 note.
Varro, general of Augustus, 524.
Vē'i, 327 note.
Ve-nē'ti, 261, 601.
Venice, founded, 601.
Venus, 88; of Melos, 237.
Ver-cin-gēt'o-rix, 454 note.
Verden, Massacre at, 670.
Vergil, 236, 253, 475 note, 525.
Verona, battle of, 606.
Vēr'rēs, 416.
Ves-pā'si-an, 483, 518, 519, 521.
Vesta, 88.
Vestal Virgins, 280.
Vesuvius, 484, 526.
Village, Greek, 77, 80; Roman, 253; German, 583, 586.
Virginia, 316.
Vir-gīn'i-us, 316.
Vir-i-ā'thus, 385.
VIs'i-goths, see **Goths**.
Vi-tēl'i-us, 483.
Vōl'e-ro, **Pub-lil'i-us**, 311.
Vōl'sci-ans, 260, 307, 327.
Volute, in Ionic order of architecture, 127.
Vulcan, 88.
Vül'gāte, 579 *b*.

Wars of the Succession, 227, 229, 238, 241, 242.
Wergeld (ver'gelt), 642.
Wēs'sex, 597.
Whit'by, Council of, 623.
Wingless Victory, temple of, 129, 182, 183.
Wō'den, 585, 597.

Woman, photograph of Egyptian, 12; position of, in Egypt, 13; in Chaldea and Assyria, 44; in early Greece, 78 and note; in Sparta, 99, 191 *b*; in Athens, 113, 191 *b*; in Graeco-Oriental world, 235; in early Rome, 275 note; position improved under Empire, 529, 530; among Germans, 584.
"Works and Days," of Hesiod, 129 *b*.
World-state, of the Romans, 253.
Worship of the Emperors, 476, 540, 541.
Wrestlers, statue of the, 187.

Xe-nōph'a-nēs, 130.
Xēn'o-phōn, 34, 185, 205 and note; quoted, 207.
Xerx'ēs, 142 and note, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 221.
Xuthus (zōō'thus), 87 *b*.

Yellow Sea, 31.
Yeomanry, Roman, 350, 404, 408, 409, 410.
York, 517.

Zā'ma, battle of, 383 and note, 399, 420.
Zend-A-vēs'ta, 61.
Zeno, Emperor, 604, 606.
Zeno, the Stoic, 238.
Ze-nō'bi-a, 495 note.
Zeus, 76, 87 *c*, 88, 180, 189 *a*, 238; statue at Olympia, 182 note.
Zeux'is, 237.
Zor-o-ās'ter, 61.
Zor-o-ās'tri-ans, 651.

